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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the discourse structures of one text type in Central Bontoc, one of eight minority Philippine languages. The text explains the Innana rituals, a complex of six rituals held annually in Bontoc villages shortly after the planting of the rice crop. The rituals are considered extremely important because they are believed to help the crop, foster clan unity, and help young people realize the importance of cooperation and contribution to family and clan gatherings. Five specific questions are addressed: (1) What devices are used to make the Innana text transparent and clearly structured? (2) What Central Bontoc paragraph types are exemplified in the Innana text and what role do they play in the discourse? (3) How does the author signal rising and falling tension in the text, and what does this tell about the relative importance of the various rituals? (4) In what way has the author given the text intersentential cohesion, and how does this relate to overall goals in the discourse? and (5) What motivated production of the text, and is it effective in the real-world context? The research focuses on one exemplary text. That text, with English translation, is appended. Also appended are notes on Central Bontoc grammar and syntax and the rituals themselves. A 37-item bibliography is included. (MSE)

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Discourse Approaches to Cohesion: A Study of the Structure and Unity of a Central Bontoc Expository Text

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Discourse Approaches to Cohesion: A Study of the Structure and Unity of a Central Bontoc Expository Text

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Graduate School
De La Salle University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in Language and Literature

By
Keith Laurence Benn
Summer Institute of Linguistics

1987

To Felix Khensay

Our friend and helpful landlord, a devout Catholic, who is willing to give of his time and energies to assist a naive and inept foreigner to understand the complexities of his language and culture.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

COL	collective
CONJ	conjunctive
CONT	continuative
FM	focus marker
LK	link
LOC	locative affix or particle
NFM	nonfocus marker
PART	particle
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
QF	quotation formula
.	compound gloss or compound vernacular phrase
,	semantic/grammatical components
-	glottal stop between consonant and vowel in the vernacular text

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Introduction

The Central Bontoc language is one of approximately eighty minority languages in the Philippines. Mountain Province is home to about 22,000 Central Bontoc speakers; thousands more live in Benguet and other provinces. Most of the residents of Bontoc and Sadanga municipalities speak Central Bontoc.

The Central Bontoc language is closely related to Kankanay in the Central Cordilleran subgroup of Philippine languages (see fig. 1).

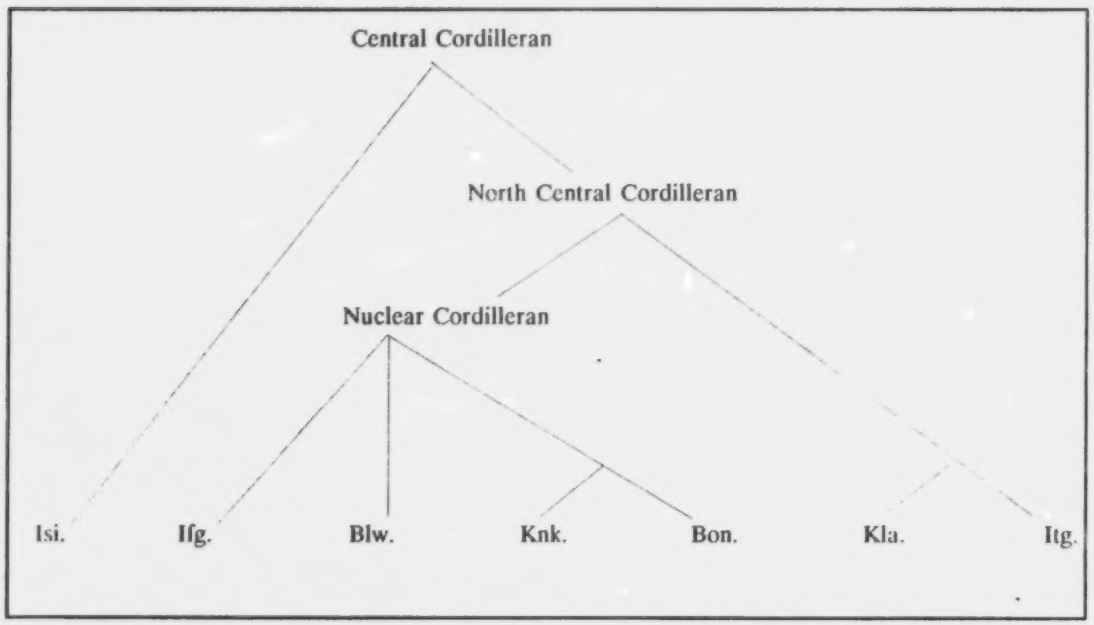

Fig. 1. The internal relations of the Central Cordilleran subgroup (Reid 1974:512, Isi. = Isinai, Ifg. = Ifugao, Blw. = Balangaw, Knk. = Kankanay, Bon. = Bontoc, Kla. = Kalinga, Itg. = Itneg).

The Central Bontoc segmental phonemes are as follows: a, e, i, o, p, t, k, b (b, f), d (d, ch), g (g, kh), m, n, ŋ (ng), l (l, w, 0), s, w, y, glottal and stress. (Symbols in parentheses indicate orthographic conventions; b, d, g, and l have more than one representation because of interference from the English orthography and the trade language, Ilocano.) Glottal is represented by a hyphen (-) between a consonant and following vowel, and by the absence of a consonant symbol word-initially and between vowels. Stress is phonemic but is not symbolized. (See also Reid 1963 and the introduction to Reid 1976.)

1.1 The problem

One of the goals of discourse study is to discover what syntactic features characterize well-written or well-spoken text. To discover them and to describe discourse structure, there are a number of questions which an analyst should attempt to answer:

(1) How many discourse genres are syntactically distinguished in the language?

(2) Do any of these genres have subtypes?

(3) For each discourse genre and subgenre what syntactic features characterize good text, and what features are diagnostic of the type of discourse being produced?

(4) What syntactic features signal heightened or lowered tension within a text? In other words, how does a writer/speaker alert the reader/hearer that the climax/denouement is at hand?

(5) How does the language distinguish between background and foreground information?

(6) What grammatical and lexical configurations contribute to cohesion within a text, what stylistic options are available within each discourse genre, and what is the interrelationship between intersentential cohesion and the author's control of tension within a monologue discourse?

(7) What paragraph types are at an author's disposal, and how does he use these to achieve his purposes?

(8) What is the relationship between a particular text and the real world environment? What motivated the text, and what is the author trying to achieve through the discourse? What question is he trying to answer, or what problem is he attempting to solve? What was the challenge, whether implicit or explicit, agreed upon by both speaker/writer and hearer/reader as relevant to the situation of the linguistic utterance? Does the author succeed in meeting the challenge? If so, what is the textual evidence of his success in trying to be relevant?

Many more such questions could be asked. But if a discourse analyst is able to answer the preceding ones about any text, then he has come a long way towards an intelligent and understandable analysis of the overall discourse structure of a language.

The present study attempts to answer the following questions with reference to a single Central Bontoc written expository text, one that explains the *Innana* rituals:

(1) What devices has the author used to make the *Innana* text (see sec. 1.7) open, transparent, and clearly structured?

(2) What Central Bontoc paragraph types are exemplified in the *Innana* text, and what roles do they play in the discourse?

(3) How does the author signal rising and falling tension in the text, and what does this tell us about the relative importance of the various rituals that make up the *Innana* complex?

(4) In what way has the author given the text intersentential cohesion, and how does this relate to his overall goals in the discourse?

(5) What motivated the production of the text, and is the text effective in terms of the real-world context?

1.2 Significance of the study

The present study is but a superficial first attempt at probing some of the complexities of Central Bontoc discourse structure. Yet it sets a pattern which, if applied to a number of texts from each discourse genre, would give a fairly comprehensive picture of how a Bontoc speaker goes about producing a well-composed monologue discourse.

It may be that in Reid's distinction between activity discourse and procedural discourse he has given an early insight to the systematic distinction suggested by Keith Forster within each discourse genre between projected or nonprojected time (see fig. 7). Until further work can be done on this distinction, we will refer to the embedded procedural discourses in the *Innana* text as simply that. In other words, we will call them neither embedded activity discourses (to use Reid's terminology) nor embedded customs discourses (to use Forster's terminology). In Reid's comparison of procedural and activity discourses, person orientation, tense orientation, and linkage were indistinguishable. However, the paragraph composition of procedural discourse was quite distinct from that of activity discourse. (Reid's 1971 paper repeated some of the information pertaining to procedural discourse that he had presented in his 1970 work and also made comparisons between time orientation in Central Bontoc and Keley-i Kallahan procedural texts.)

Since the publication of Longacre's *An Anatomy of Speech Notions* there have been a number of studies of paragraph structure. These include Waltz (1976), Borman (1977), Hinds (1979), and Longacre (1979). Of these, the most helpful have been those by Waltz and Borman. (The study by Hinds has more of a discourse than a paragraph application.)

Longacre (1979) is concerned with paragraph types and weighting considerations. The paragraph types tend to be etic, and consequently less systematic. In the present study I have applied Longacre's theory as outlined in *An Anatomy of Speech Notions*, since it is more systematic and therefore more helpful.

Although Gutwinski's 1976 doctoral dissertation and Halliday and Hasan's *Cohesion in English* were published in the same year, Gutwinski's (1976) concept of cohesion was built on Halliday's earlier work, and he includes *Cohesion in English* in his bibliography. Gutwinski's doctoral dissertation was very helpful in my study of sequential cohesion, and my Appendix 2 follows the format of Gutwinski's analysis to some extent.

Austin Hale has developed his theory of effectiveness conditions over a period of more than ten years. In 1973, he wrote of three conditions: coherence conditions, significance conditions, and background conditions. More recently, he revised these effectiveness conditions to four systems that work together to create effective speech: background, files, trees, and focal content. My work is one of the first applications of this theory.

1.6 Methodology

As a means of collecting texts for discourse analysis, an essay-writing competition was run in cooperation with Bontoc community leaders, who also donated cash prizes for first and second places. The competition was divided into four categories: first person narrative, traditional stories, exhortation, and exposition. In each category, first and second prizes were given.

The judges, however, had a problem. One of the first-person narratives was so much superior to any other essay that they felt it unfair simply to give it first place. Instead, they created a special award with a more substantial prize. That essay was written by Felix Khensay, who also wrote the *Innana* text, the text analyzed for this work.

The *Innana* text was written shortly after the essay-writing competition. It is one of about forty Central Bontoc texts that I collected and studied in the course of my research. For this work, however, I have concentrated mainly on the one text.

1.7 The *Innana* rituals and the text describing them

The *Innana* rituals are a complex of six rituals held annually in Bontoc villages shortly after the planting of the rice crop in April or May. These rituals are considered to be extremely important, since the rice crop is the main source of food for Bontoc people for the year. To lose the crop would spell disaster. In the *Innana* rituals prayer is offered for the rice to grow tall and straight and abundantly, and for the rice birds, lizards, rats, and other pests to be restrained from destroying the crop.

Another reason why the *Innana* rituals are so important is that the gathering of the clan to celebrate them fosters clan unity, one of the most important Bontoc cultural values. A third reason is, as shown in the CONCLUSION of the *Innana* text, that the gatherings of the clan for the rituals provide the occasion for young people to begin to realize the importance of cooperation and playing their part in contributing

Keith Forster[3] redefined Longacre's system, developing a system with the possibility of up to sixteen discourse types.

Profile: Profiles (or contours) of rising and falling tension within a text may be drawn on the basis of verb tense/aspect and clause type (Longacre 1981).

Spectrum: A spectrum refers to the range of dynamicity of verbs and clauses within a discourse type. A text profile is drawn on the basis of genre-specific spectra. Longacre borrows the term spectrum from the field of optics, where a spectrographic analysis of white light shows a range of colors. In the same way, an analysis of text material shows a range of verb tense/aspects which vary in dynamicity. This range, or cline of dynamicity, he calls spectrum.

1.5 Linguistic studies on Central Bontoc and other related studies

Of the two studies on the Central Bontoc language that have proved most helpful to this study (Reid 1970 and Reid 1971), Reid's *Central Bontoc: Sentence, Paragraph and Discourse* (1970) is particularly important since it gives a global picture of discourse, indicating person orientation, tense orientation, linkage, and general composition of four discourse types: hortatory, narrative, activity, and procedural. (He mentions two other Bontoc discourse types not included in his study: expository and prayer tale.)

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[3]Keith Forster (1977) distinguishes discourse genres initially on the basis of agent orientation and linkage:

	+ Agent oriented	– Agent oriented
Chronological linkage	Narrative	Procedural
Logical linkage	Behavioral	Expository

Fig. 6. Discourse genres (adapted from Forster 1977).

Within each of the four in figure 6, he has plus or minus projected time and person:

Genre	– Projected	+ Projected
Narrative	(usual concept)	Prophecy/Plans
Procedural	Customs	(usual concept)
Behavioral	Eulogy/Praise/Rebuke	Hortatory
Expository	(usual concept)	Orientation/Budget

Fig. 7. Projected and nonprojected discourse genres (Forster 1977).

(For behavioral discourse, Forster also has a three-way division according to person orientation, which need not concern us here.) Forster then divides the eight types in figure 7 as to "tension ... [which is] the struggle for dominance in a discourse between two opposing participants or ideas. For example ... Argumentative Discourse type ... in which two positions are contrasted ... (is) separate from the normal Expository Discourse" (Forster 1977:3-6; see also Callow 1974:17).

Coherence: De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981:48-112) use the term coherence to include global factors that give a text unity, such as the unifying function of backbone. But it goes much further; it includes both the world of the text and its relationship with the culturally accepted world view. In this work, I will apply the term coherence to any form of unifying relation above the sentence level.

Cohesion: (Also sequential cohesion.) Halliday and Hasan use the term cohesion to refer to the semantic relations that occur between sentences (1976:232). This is how it is used in this work. The terms cohesion and coherence overlap at the paragraph level, where we have conjunctive relations interfacing with the logical relationships between sentences that define paragraph types and paragraph boundaries.

Filing System: The system that links new information to old information and facilitates continuity of reference in a language.

Focal Content: The system which guarantees the significance of a discourse. This is the system involved in gaining the attention of an audience and keeping that attention until the end of a monologue.

Genre: Longacre (1976:199-200) has defined four discourse genres: narrative, procedural, expository, and hortatory.[2]

[2]On the basis of two broad parameters, succession and projection. "Succession refers to chronological succession which is plus in regard to certain discourse genres but minus in regard to others. Projection refers to a feature which sets off procedural genre from narrative, on the one hand, and hortatory genre from expository on the other hand."

	– PROJECTED	+ PROJECTED
+ Succession	NARRATIVE	PROCEDURAL
	1. 1/3 person	1. Nonspecific person
	2. Agent oriented	2. Patient oriented
	3. Accomplished time	3. Projected time
	4. Chronological linkage	4. Chronological linkage
– Succession	EXPOSITORY	HORTATORY
	1. No necessary person reference	1. 2 person
	2. (Subject-matter oriented)	2. Addressee oriented
	3. Time not focal	3. (Mode, not time)
	4. Logical linkage	4. Logical linkage

Fig. 5. Deep structure genres according to Longacre (1976:200).

narrative, procedural steps in procedural discourse, hortations in hortatory text, and explanations in expository discourse.

The third system, the filing system, is superimposed on the two lower systems. In a narrative, for example, each participant or group of participants has its own file, traceable through the discourse. In an effort to set up files for new information and participants, and to give them continuity of reference throughout a text, the filing system is in a position to manipulate both the trees and the backbone, but is not in turn manipulated by them. The filing system, however, is controlled by the uppermost system, the focal content.

The focal content system is closely related to the intentions and motivations of the author in producing the text. No text is produced apart from a context, in which the author is attempting to answer a question, solve a problem, meet a challenge, etc.

1.4 Definition of key terms used in this work

Backbone: The backbone of a discourse consists of the key sentences which, if taken together, would give a good summary of a text. For narrative, backbone sentences encode events. For procedural, they are procedural steps. Backbone sentences are closely related to the sentences van Dijk chooses when constructing a macro-structure.[1]

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[1] Van Dijk (1977:95) posits global semantic structures characterized by the relations between whole sets of propositions. He assumes (ibid., 223) that both semantic information and actions "are organized in higher level units and structures. More specifically, sequences of doings are assigned hierarchical action structures, planned and interpreted as such, at various levels of macro-organization" (ibid., 233). This hierarchical arrangement is monitored and executed by what he refers to as plans of action. These plans execute global control, and choose that a certain proposition or action will be "necessary, others only optional but probable, others optional but improbable. Plans thus described, are macro-structures of action. They determine which sub-sequences are related, belong together, and how such sub-sequences are related, and how sub-sequences may be assigned to one macro-action" (ibid., 234). Thus, to get the macro-structure of a narrative, van Dijk and Kintsch apply macro-rules to abstract

(1) descriptions of reasons, purposes, and intentions for actions and the mental consequences of actions ... ;

(2) descriptions of alternative possible courses of events;

(3) descriptions of auxiliary actions which are normal ... ;

(4) descriptions of properties of states (time, place, objects, individual persons which do not condition further action) ... ;

(5) meta-descriptions: propositions announcing, repeating, resuming, or connecting other propositions (general principle of non-redundancy); and

(6) descriptions of dialogue....

> The application of these rules (which are not complete and somewhat too strong) yield a macro-structure for an action discourse.... Macro-structures of narrative discourse themselves have a narrative structure (van Dijk and Kintsch 1978:70 [layout is Benn's]).

Longacre, in his analysis of backbone/macro-structure of narrative, has found instances in which events which did not occur became backbone "events" by virtue of the fact that they did not occur. That they did not occur was highly significant, and served to advance the event-line of the narrative (personal communication).

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976:8), "Cohesion is a semantic relation between an element in the text and some other element that is crucial to the interpretation of it." For the unifying relations on a higher level they use the term texture (ibid., 299), which includes within it not only cohesion, but theme systems, information systems, and structure of discourse. Texture, they say, is what gives a text unity.

Halliday and Hasan (1976) define a text as a semantic unit that uses sentences to express its meaning. Cohesion, information structure, and theme are coexisting systems within texture that relate one part of a text to another (p. 299). This network of relationships is what defines a series of sentences as a text.

The Textual Component of Language		
Structural		Nonstructural
By rank:	Cross-rank:	
Clause: theme	Information unit:	Cohesion:
Verbal group: voice	information distribution,	reference, substitution, ellipsis,
Nominal group: deixis	information focus	conjunction, lexical cohesion
Adverbial group: conjunction		

Fig. 4. The textual component of language (adapted from Halliday and Hasan 1976:29).

Halliday and Hasan's use of the word cohesion is limited to the situations "where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. When this happens, a relation of cohesion is set up" (1976:4). These cohesive relations, or ties, are carefully defined in terms of five systems: the referential system; substitution; ellipsis; conjunction; and lexical cohesion. These five systems will be discussed in detail in chapter 4, as will enation and agnation, two structural devices that create cohesion between sentences—first described by Gleason (1965:199).

1.3.4 Effectiveness

Chapter 5, "Effectiveness," treats the effectiveness of the *Innana* text. A text must not only be studied for internal unity, but also for relevance to its real-life context. In this chapter, therefore, we look at four systems that work together to produce effective language: backbone; trees; files; and the focal content system. (The latter relates the real-world situation to the text itself.) This approach ties in well with the paragraph analysis of chapter 2. But, of course, it needs to be reapplied to many texts before a clear pattern for the whole language will emerge.

The treatment of the *Innana* text in chapter 5 is based on Austin Hale's 1984 work, in which he pointed out that no text is produced apart from a context. That being so, an author invariably handles and manipulates his resources of facts and evidence in the best way he possibly can to try to achieve his goals in the discourse.

Is good text structure—combined with sensitive use of verb tense/aspect and well-developed intersentential cohesion—sufficient to make a text effective? Hale has answered this question in the negative in his 1984 article. He describes four systems that operate concurrently to create effective text: The lowest system is the backbone of the text. It is the one "at the mercy of the other three," to be manipulated at will. The second lowest system, which is manipulated only by the upper two, is the tree system; it hierarchically coordinates and subordinates clauses so that key propositions are superordinated to backgrounded propositions. The result of the action of the tree system is to foreground backbone sentences and to subordinate background. The tree system is responsible for foregrounding events in

and Jones (1979:8-12) proposed a different six-level system, based, not solely on the type of information conveyed, but on the significance of sentences in the discourse as a whole: peak, pivotal events, backbone events, ordinary events, significant background, and ordinary background. Jones and Jones found that in Central American languages these multiple levels of information are distinguished on the one hand by means of verb aspect and on the other hand by particles, clause types, mode, and so forth.

Hopper and Thompson (1980:251-99), working on transitivity, have also noted that verb tense/aspect and discourse particles are intimately involved in distinguishing between foreground and background. They propose ten criteria for evaluating the transitivity of a clause, and demonstrate the close relationship between clause transitivity and the distinction between foreground and background.

Robert Longacre (1981) has carried the work of Jones and Jones and Hopper and Thompson one step further by suggesting that each discourse genre has its own genre-specific cline of verb forms, and that verb forms are used selectively to indicate the significance of the sentence or clause in which it occurs in the text as a whole. In other words, Longacre proposes that an author in any language uses verb tense/aspect in such a way that once a reader or hearer knows the genre of the text, he will also have a fairly accurate idea of the significance of any clause in the text simply by the tense/aspect of its verb. The other determinative factor in the significance of a clause is, of course, its relationship to other propositions in its paragraph.

In his study of biblical Hebrew narrative, Longacre has discovered the cline of verb forms that is shown here as figure 3.

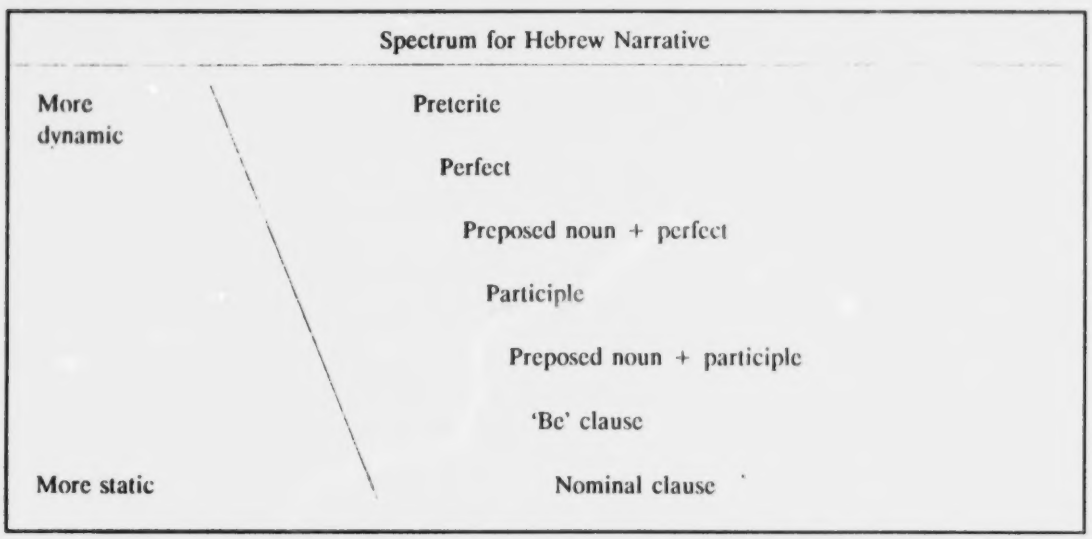

Fig. 3. A spectrum of biblical Hebrew clause types (adapted from Longacre 1981:341).

Using a genre-specific tense/aspect verb cline, Longacre goes on to show the value of drawing text profiles: they give us a visual representation of what is going on in a discourse. The peak of the profile for narrative would normally coincide with the climax of the action. Longacre does allow, however, for texts to have more than one peak: Narrative can have several action peaks, depending on its length, and even a didactic peak.

1.3.3 Text cohesion

Chapter 4, "Sequential cohesion," is a study of intersentential cohesion from the Halliday and Hasan (1976) theoretical standpoint. It covers reference, substitution and ellipsis, lexical cohesion, and conjunction, and also includes enation and agnation as described by Gleason (1965).

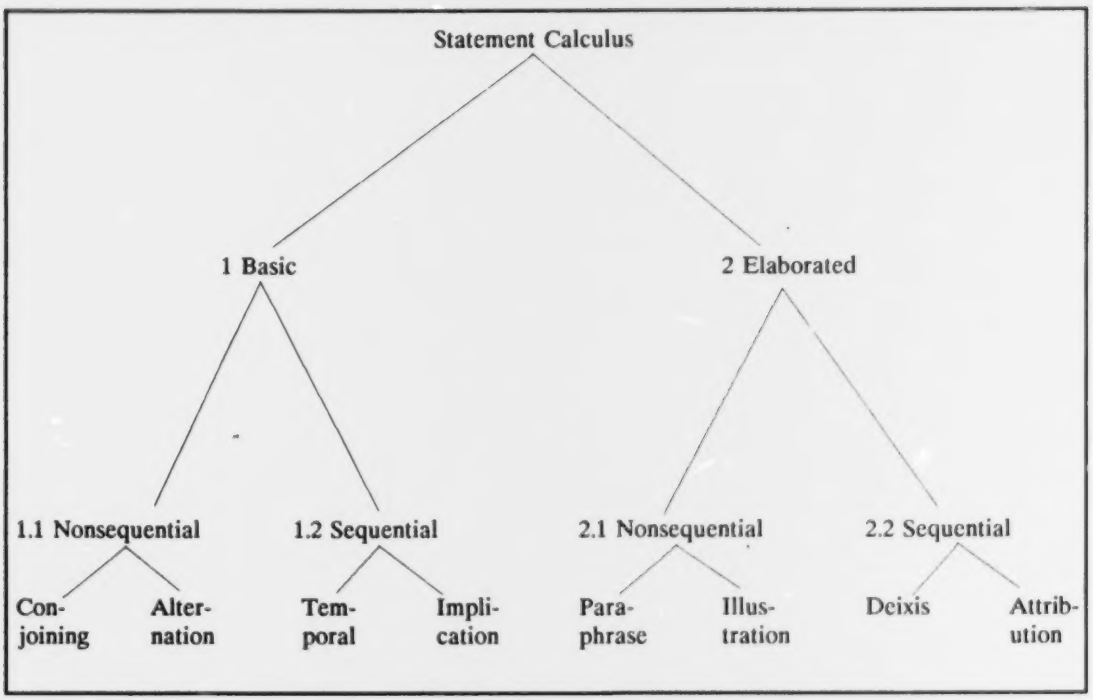

Fig. 2. A statement calculus of propositional relations (adapted from Longacre 1976:159).

Michael Borman, in a study of Cofan, discerned fifteen paragraph types in narrative text (1977:289-338). These he grouped under five main headings according to the roles played by the paragraphs in narrative discourse. One group of paragraphs had a role in forming backbone: they carried the event-line along. The second group developed the identity of participants and depicted situations. The third group developed relationships (and tension) between participants, events, and situations. The fourth group paraphrased thematic information. The fifth group had a role in adding vividness to the text. What Waltz and Borman found to be true for narrative undoubtedly applies to other discourse genres as well.

1.3.2 Spectrum and profile

Chapter 3, "Spectrum, transitivity, and profile," presents an analysis of the *Innana* text according to the concepts of spectrum and profile. This approach enabled me to discover and visually represent the ways in which the author formally indicated what he was doing as the text progressed. The analysis is in accord with Grimes (1975), Jones and Jones (1979), and Longacre (1981). It is a preliminary study of tension-controlling devices, an attempt to see how the author of the *Innana* has used verb tense/aspect, clause transitivity, and sentence dynamicity to create rising and falling tension within the text. It shows how control of tension closely correlates with what the author is doing in the text. The tension level not only indicates which ritual is most important of the six, and which is the second most important, but also which actions in each ritual are crucial. Thus spectrum, transitivity, and profile together give a new perspective on the coherence of a text.

(Again, a wider study of a number of texts would show what is the normal tense/aspect dynamicity cline for each discourse genre. Also, it should be noted that, although the *Innana* text is expository, it contains within its structure four embedded procedural discourses; and so the study of spectrum, transitivity, and profile of this text tells us more about embedded procedural discourse than it does about expository discourse.)

In 1975, Joseph Grimes (1975:33-70) suggested that narrative discourse distinguishes six kinds of information: events, participants, setting, background, evaluations, and collateral. More recently, Jones

Such a broader analysis, once accomplished, would result in an invaluable text grammar for the use of comparative textlinguists. It would also be an aid for those attempting to learn the Bontoc language and for those involved in producing written Bontoc literature.

1.3 Scope of the study

In this study we will be looking at the *Innana* text (see Appendix 1) from four different perspectives. First, in chapter 2, we will look at the segmentation and paragraph structure of the text. Second, in chapter 3, we will look at foregrounding and backgrounding, and see how the writer has used rising and falling tension to indicate relative importance in the text. Third, in chapter 4, we will study the intersentential cohesive devices employed by the writer to give text cohesion and then relate these to what we discovered in chapter 3. Fourth, in chapter 5, we will ask ourselves whether the discourse was effective and what syntactic features contribute to text effectiveness; the relationship of the text to its real-life context will be shown.

1.3.1 Segmentation and paragraph structure

In chapter 2, "The world of the discourse, segmentation, and paragraphs," I follow Longacre's system of paragraph analysis and then make a first attempt at analyzing the roles played in the *Innana* text by each paragraph type. I look at the text as a whole and ask, How does the author clue the reader in to what is going on in this text? What signposts are there to indicate that this text is an exposition that will discuss the *Innana* rituals in such and such a way? Then I outline some segmentation principles used by the author to open up the text and make it readable. Following that, I look at the interpropositional logical relationships existing between sentences of the text. This shows which sentences belong together. Then I attempt to discover some of the systematic ways in which the author has used various paragraph types. Finally a paragraph analysis of the *Innana* text is presented, illustrating its grammatical structure.

Since chapter 2 (like the other chapters) treats only a single text, its value is mainly in the fact that it is the first step in the direction of studying how Bontoc speakers use paragraphs to achieve discourse goals. A broader study of a variety of Central Bontoc texts would not only demonstrate what features characterize the paragraph structure of each discourse genre, but would give us the normal roles each paragraph type plays in each genre.

One of the early writers on discourse structure, Joseph Grimes (1975:102ff.), suggested four general principles for partitioning a narrative text: uniformity of spatial orientation, uniformity of temporal orientation, uniformity of thematic orientation, and uniformity of participant orientation. Having partitioned a text according to these principles, we are likely to be left with paragraphs that may have many sentences each.

At this point it is helpful to recognize that speakers and writers combine predications into larger units, called paragraphs, and that these paragraphs are structured (Longacre 1976:98ff.). Longacre codifies the propositional relations that exist between sentences of a paragraph by means of a statement or propositional calculus (see fig. 2).

One of the basic presuppositions of textlinguistics is that discourse is structured, and that a speaker/writer controls the building blocks of language in such a way as to create the structure that will best convey the message he wants to communicate. An implication of this assumption is that the type of paragraph a writer chooses to use is one of the variables at his disposal.

Assuming, then, that writers make intelligent and systematic choice of paragraph type, linguistic investigators may attempt to discover systematic use of paragraphs in narrative discourse, as did Nathan Waltz (1976) and Michael Borman (1977) in their studies of Colombian languages. Waltz uncovered fifteen distinct paragraph types in Guanano discourse, each of which had its own role to play in creating a text. He concluded (1976:140-41):

> By recognizing the functions of different paragraph (and sentence) types we are able to predict where they will occur in the plot structure of a Narrative Discourse. Moreover, the plot structure determines the speaker's choice of grammatical units. This implies, therefore, that there are in fact no optional grammatical units. That is, a given grammatical unit is required in certain contexts and is necessarily absent in other contexts.

towards the family and clan gatherings. These occasions motivate them to work hard to raise pigs (a time and energy consuming twice daily chore in Bontoc villages) and with the proceeds contribute towards the family fiesta "because if they don't contribute ... watch out!"

The account of the *Innana* rituals was written by Felix Khensay, a 60-65 year old Bontoc man, to replace an earlier account which he felt did not do them justice. His purpose was to write an accurate account of the rituals and at the same time explain their significance for the Bontoc way of life, why they should be carried on and not be abandoned.

The author begins the text with a SETTING in which he introduces the topic and gives a 'table of contents,' citing the six *Innana* rituals. In the EXPLANATION he discusses the six rituals under five subtopics (the last two being grouped together under one heading). In the CONCLUSION he argues for the value of the *Innana* rituals in Bontoc family life. The text finishes with a CLOSURE. The following is a summary of the *Innana* text:

SETTING: The *Innana* rituals are among the best of all the customs of the Bontoc people. They are done every year after rice planting, and include six rituals: the *Lifon*; the *Soyok*; the *Mangmang*; the *Apey*; and the *Patay* and *Tengaw*.

EXPLANATION: The *Lifon* ritual, which is for the rich people, involves catching and butchering a pig. Some of the meat from this pig is divided among those who attend, while the rest is kept for the *Lifon* feast in the evening.

The *Soyok* ritual is similar to the *Lifon*, in that it involves catching and butchering pigs and sharing out pieces of meat among those who attend. But the *Soyok* ritual involves all the village people, who meet by family or by clan to share in the *Soyok* feast. Again, as in the *Lifon* ritual, the elders of the clan meet to discuss whose turn it is to contribute a pig for the *Soyok* feast. This is done on an equitable basis. In the evening the clan meets together and the men have a chance to sing their chanting song—the *ayyeng*. This is also the time when shares of meat are handed out.

In the *Mangmang* ritual the head of each household kills a chicken for the ritual, and they add to the pot sections of the meat from the previous two rituals.

In the *Apey* ritual a representative from each household goes out to each rice field belonging to the family, carrying a pot with meat, or perhaps a chicken, rice wine, and some *paloki* plants. At each field they eat some heated meat, spit wine onto the *paloki* and pray for the welfare of the anticipated rice crop. The *paloki* plant is then embedded at the edge of the field. Having done that in each field, they carry the rest of the meat home for the *Apey* clan feast in the evening. In the next two days some people go fishing, while others take plates of food to their parents-in-law or to the parents of their children-in-law.

The *Patay* ritual is done at the sacred tree. The pig that has been raised by the guardian of the sacred tree is paid for by contributions of rice and money from the village people. That evening the children shout out to announce that the following day is the *Tengaw* ritual rest day, on which no one goes to the fields; the shouting signals the end of the *Innana* rituals.

CONCLUSION: The *Innana* rituals are good for two reasons. First, they give opportunity for young people to become acquainted with all their relatives. Second, they alert them to the importance of raising pigs or chickens to contribute towards the *Innana* feasts. This motivates them to work hard, because if they don't they will be excommunicated by the clan from participation in the *Innana* feasts.

CLOSURE: These are the true details of the *Innana* rituals.

Chapter 2

The world of the discourse, segmentation, and paragraphs

2.1 The world of the discourse

Pick up two books, one featuring on the front cover a man running, gun clenched in both hands, tie loosened, hair disheveled, helicopter in the background; the other featuring a plain cover with a title. Without even reading the respective titles, what do we know about the contents of the books?

We can probably surmise that the first is a novel with an action-packed event-line and that the first full printed page following the title page could well initiate the event-line or lead up to it. We would not expect to find a table of contents. Chapters would probably not have titles. If you began reading at chapter 3 you would fail to understand the motivations behind many actions. An index or bibliography at the end of the book would be extremely unlikely.

For the plain-covered book, we could guess that it is probably not a novel, but whether it is a textbook, a book of sermons, or a manual of instructions, we could not say without reading the title. Inside, we would expect to find a table of contents with each chapter heading summarizing the contents of that chapter. We might find tables, line drawings, graphs, or photographs. Any one chapter might be read as a unit on its own. Then at the end of the book we would expect to find notes, perhaps a bibliography, and perhaps an index.

Why the difference? In the case of the novel the publisher has attempted to attract our attention to the contents of the book by the illustration on the cover. It is intended to be a synopsis of the action in the novel. But with the other, the cover is mainly to inform. The title is a summary of what is supplied in detail in the table of contents. The author is saying in effect, If you want to know how I develop this topic, see my table of contents.

Some authors go even further than that. I read a plain-covered book recently which, after the table of contents, had an author's note (Dye 1980:8):

> If You Just Don't Have Time To Read This Whole Book: .... The heart of the book is chapter 3; I encourage everyone to read it. For working translators, chapters 10-12 ... are most helpful.... Other chapters are more specialized. Chapter 1 describes.... Chapter 2 and Appendix 2 explain.... Chapter 13 makes suggestions.... Appendix 4 discusses.... Appendix 5 provides salient.... There are summaries at the end of most chapters. Read what interests you!

What is the author doing? First of all, his title delineates the world of the discourse. Then in the table of contents he outlines the areas to be covered both by the book as a whole and by each chapter in particular. If a reader needs more detail about an individual chapter, the table of contents frequently gives subtitles within a chapter expressing the contents of the section in a word or phrase. But the author quoted above has gone even further: He has, in his note, directed the reader to what he considers the most important chapters. He has given a profile of the book, showing the reader which chapters may prove most relevant to selected readers. He does this by evaluating each of the thirteen chapters and three of the four appendixes vis à vis each other. He is creating a coherent world view for the book before chapter 1 even begins.

The format of a novel does not do that because the reader's motivation in reading it is to discover the world of the discourse as the book progresses, a world which in its finer details is never complete until the resolution of the "complication" (van Dijk 1977:154, 245-46). Each device an author uses—title, table of contents, chapter headings, etc.—contributes in some way to creating a coherent world into which the minor details fit.

The author of the *Innana* text has done this by the use of a title, a table of contents, subtitles, and other segmentation devices:

TITLE	The Details of the *Innana* Rituals
INTRODUCTION	The *Innana* rituals are some of the best customs of the people of Bontoc. They are performed each year just after the rice planting is finished.
TABLE OF CONTENTS	First: the *Lifon* Ritual Second: the *Soyok* Ritual Third: the *Mangmang* Ritual Fourth: the *Apey* Ritual Fifth: the *Patay* and *Tengaw* Rituals Now, I will explain what happens in these five, beginning with the *Lifon* Ritual.
SUBTITLE	The *LIFON* Ritual (The explanation of this ritual is given in sentences 8-26.)
SUBTITLE	The *SOYOK* Ritual (The explanation of this ritual is given in sentences 28-44.)
SUBTITLE	The *MANGMANG* Ritual (The explanation of this ritual is given in sentences 46-49.)
SUBTITLE	The *APEY* Ritual (The explanation of this ritual is the longest, sentences 51-71.)
SUBTITLE	The *TENGAW* Ritual (Sentences 73-81 give an explanation of two rituals, the *Patay* and *Tengaw*.)
CONCLUSION	I said in the beginning that the *Innana* rituals are among the best of the Bontoc customs. That is so because at the time of the *Innana* gatherings young people get to know their relatives and learn the value of hard work. Only by hard work will they be able to raise pigs for the *Innana* feasts.

Dooling and Lachman (mentioned by van Dijk and Kintsch 1978:64) showed that "the use of titles, outlines, summaries and thematic words within (a text) positively influences understanding, organization in memory and recall of the discourse." The author of the *Innana* text has helped us in every way he could by providing us with a title, an outline (or what we have referred to as a table of contents), subtitles (thematic words), and several summary sentences throughout the text. For example, sentences 65-67 give a summary of the *Innana* feasts to remind us of this important part of the rituals:

65. There are three gatherings for the *Innana* rituals.

66. The gathering for the *Lifon* ritual is for the rich.

67. The gathering for the *Soyok* ritual and the *Apey* ritual (are the other two).

Other summaries are given in sentences 5, 15, 28, 29, 30, 82, 83, 84, 85, and 90.

So we see that the author of this text has opened up the discourse so that at a glance we know what the text is about. Then, as we read the text, we see that within each larger section of the text, which is indicated by subtitle, he has segmented the text even further.

2.2 Segmentation

Life is made up of years, and years of months, months of weeks, weeks of days, and days of hours; this is how a clock segments reality. An autobiography is likely to structure time according to meaningful segments such as: when I was young; before I was married; when the children were growing up; after my wife died; etc. Monologue texts generally follow a pattern like this reflecting what the speaker/author perceives to be significant segments.

In spoken language the speaker uses pauses, intonation, and particles (e.g., now and well) as segmentation devices. In writing, "we have rules for paragraph indentation which have a macrostructural nature: they mark sequences which somehow 'belong together,' i.e., which belong to the same topic" (van Dijk 1977:152).

In his discussion of partitioning principles, Grimes (1975:102ff.) outlines four techniques for partitioning text into segments. These principles involve uniformity of spatial orientation, temporal orientation, thematic orientation, and participant orientation.

2.2.1 Spatial orientation

Spatial orientation is particularly relevant to narrative texts, in which the location of events is usually significant. When an author introduces a new location, this is often a signal that a new section of the text is about to begin. This new spatial orientation will frequently be accompanied by a new temporal setting, new participants, and perhaps a new thematic orientation.

In expository discourse, spatial orientation is not often crucial on a macro-level. In a first reading of the *Innana* text, however, we notice seventeen different spatial indicators. But only one of these occurs as a sentence setting. In other words, of the seventeen locative phrases in the *Innana* text, only one occurs before the nucleus (the independent clause of a sentence), making it a candidate for marking a new segment in the text. That one example occurs in sentence 58:

58. ***Isnan esay payew*** *esay paloki nan isokfitcha* ***iska***
NFM one,LK rice.field one,LK paloki FM insert.they LOC

topingna *paymo sipitencha* ***isnan lolo*** *sachat ipadsek.*
rock.wall.its or wedge.they NFM stick then.they,PART embed

58. **In each rice field** they insert one stem of *paloki* **between the stones of the rock wall**, or wedge it into a **(split) stick** and embed it in the rice field.

In this sentence we have both pre and postnuclear locative indication. 'In each rice field' is a spatial orientation with a single-sentence span, followed by 'of the rock wall' and 'into a split stick', which locate actions of predicates. So even this one prenuclear ("before the independent clause") spatial indicator is irrelevant to paragraph structure.

2.2.2 Temporal orientation

Temporal orientation is especially pertinent in narrative and procedural text, and less relevant—or important in a different way—in hortatory and expository discourse.

One would expect that temporal orientation would not be vital in expository discourse, yet the *Innana* text seems at first glance to be very time oriented. There are forty time references in the text. Nine of these are postnuclear, three are closely related to the sentence nucleus (i.e., the independent clause), and twenty-eight are true prenuclear temporal orientations. This latter is interesting in a text that purports to be expository, and alerts us to the possibility that this text may have embedded in it material from other discourse genres. For example, sentence 3 has a postnuclear item reference:

3. Maangnen nan nay Innana isnan tinawen ay kalpasan nan kifos
is.done FM this Innana NFM each.year LK finish.time FM end
si sama ya toned isnan chinakhon.
POSS field.work and plant NFM each.dry.season

3. This *Innana* ritual is done **every year just after the end of the working of the fields and the planting in the dry season.**

Other postnuclear time references include:

(2) *id sangad-om*	'of long ago'
(2, 32) *idwani*	'now'
(31) *id tawen*	'last year'
(35) *isnan maschem*	'at night'
(41) *isnan malpasanchay manganan*	'after they have finished eating'

Sentence 15 has a temporal orientation right in the sentence nucleus:

15. Nan nay Lifon, siya nan manganan nan kakachangyan.
FM this Lifon it FM eating.time POSS rich.person,PL

15. This *Lifon* ritual is **the time** when the rich **celebrate**.

Other nuclear time references include ***siya nan mangammowan*** 'that is when the children get to know' (sentence 84). However, for segmenting the text, prenuclear time orientations are much more important, since some of these, at least, will have paragraph spans. Prenuclear time settings in the *Innana* text include the following (number in parentheses refers to number of sentence in the text in Appendix 1):

Time phrases:

(4a) *Isnan timpon nan Innana*	'At the time of the *Innana*'
(17) *Isnan maschem nan chey ay Lifon*	'The night of that *Lifon* ritual'
(49) *Isnan kawaksana*	'The next day'
(69) *Isnan chey ay akhew*	'On that day'
(70) *Isnan pidwan si kachiw*	'On the second day of catching fish'

A time phrase with an embedded clause:

(38) *Isnan timpo ay cha maoto nan watwat*	'While the meat is cooking'

Time clauses with either stative or active predicates:

(10) *Mo nakhaeb nan totyacha*	'When they have reached a decision'
(26) *Mo nachokpos nan Lifon*	'When the *Lifon* ritual is finished'
(39) *Mo mangancha*	'When they eat'
(53) *Mo omey cha iska payewcha*	'When they go to their rice fields'

Sequence particles:

Serving a function similar to prenuclear time references is the combination sequence particle *saet* 'then' (see sentences 35, 54, 55).

2.2.3 Thematic orientation

Thematic unity is what distinguishes a text from a jumble of unrelated sentences. According to Jones and Jones (1979), "There is generally a thematic organization, or structure, even in narrative texts, e.g., abstract themes such as love, war, man-against-nature, or underdog-comes-out-on-top. Themes reflect the rhetorical unity of a text; a text bears a message or messages." Halliday and Hasan (1976:293) write: "A text is best thought of ... as a ... semantic unit. The unity that it has is a unity of meaning in context...."

We have already seen that in the *Innana* text thematic orientation is of paramount importance. Each subtitle signals a new phrase of thematic development.

2.2.4 Participant orientation

Narratives are regularly segmented according to participant orientation. In other discourse genres this is not usually such a vital feature.

In the *Innana* text, participants constitute a contrastive feature of the various rituals. They are subsidiary to theme, but certainly not independent of it. This is seen most clearly in the *Apey* ritual, where the various procedural steps in the ritual are in focus. In this ritual, the participants are referred to more than forty times using the third plural pronoun 'they/their' without a single antecedent! In other words, the particular participants who performed the actions are not in focus at all in that ritual, participant orientation is clearly subsidiary to theme, and change of participant orientation is not one of the author's segmentation strategies.

2.2.5 Coherence

Text that is not easily segmentable is neither easily understood nor easily remembered. The segmentation scheme of a text orders the world of the text into intelligent and internally coherent spans. Bonnie Meyer (1975) takes this further by relating the coherent spans to memory and by showing that the text sentence of coherent spans, that is, the sentence highest in the hierarchical constituent structure of the span, is more easily remembered than other sentences, less easily forgotten. (van Dijk and Kintsch 1978:64-65 relate this to macrostructure.)

Segmentation of the *Innana* text is extremely easy. The author has made the text as open (a term used by Goelman 1982:56) and transparent as possible by the dual strategies of a "table of contents" in the setting, and the use of five subtitles within the text. Furthermore, within the section delineated by the five subtitles he has frequently given time settings that divide the text into temporally ordered segments. In section 2.3 to follow, we will see that within segments bordered by temporal settings we also have complex constituent structure.

2.3 Paragraph structure

2.3.1 Paragraph analysis and discourse

There are three ways in which paragraph analysis helps us to understand discourse. First, it dissects out the key sentences of a discourse. Second, it delineates embedding within a text. And third, it is a tool for diagnosing discourse genres.

Key sentences. A paragraph analysis shows the relative importance of each sentence of a text to the overall thematic development of that text. It does this by clarifying and labeling the propositional relations between sentences, thus pointing up sentences that carry forward the thematic development of the text. These sentences are the least dependent, least subordinate ones, and as such are at the top of the hierarchical structure of a discourse. Bonnie Meyer (1975, quoted by van Dijk and Kintsch 1978:64-65) has shown that these are the sentences which, of all the sentences of a text, are best remembered and recalled. Van Dijk and Kintsch (1978:73) call these sentences, when taken together, the macrostructure of a text, the ones which, they say, are recalled as the "cue for the detailed propositional information about the text." In other words, these backbone sentences (see Hale 1984) form a coherent series through a text and, as such, are easily recalled as a precis of the discourse.

Embedding. A paragraph analysis shows where subparagraphs (embedded paragraphs) begin and end, where topic changes occur, and where there is discourse embedded within discourse. It also shows thematic development within a text.

Diagnosing discourse genres. Just as an author intuitively selects backbone sentences appropriate to his discourse (e.g., exhortatory sentences in exhortation, actions in narrative, explanatory sentences in explanation, and procedural actions in procedural text), in the same way he constructs text using a combination of paragraph types appropriate to his discourse genre. Narrative discourse is made up of such things as setting, complication, and resolution (van Dijk 1977:154), while argumentative discourse has premises, conclusion, warrant, and condition (ibid., 155). This leads Goelman (1982:55) to state that "recent research has suggested that narrative differs from exposition on the basis of text structure as well as in the cognitive strategies used in extracting meaning from the texts." Nathan Waltz's research, though

not included in Goelman's study, does indeed reinforce Goelman's statement. Waltz's work leads him to conclude (1976:140):

> The recognition of various paragraph types has made possible the differentiation in narrative discourse of event-line from background information.... Moreover, the plot structure determines the speaker's choice of grammatical units. This implies, therefore, that there are in fact no optional grammatical units. That is, a given grammatical unit is required in certain contexts and is necessarily absent in other contexts.

We see, then, that the paragraph structure of a text is far from being a random compilation. Rather, it is inextricably related to plot structure and the genre of the text. What needs to be done is to analyze a variety of texts from each discourse genre (see figs. 5, 6, and 7 in the following notes) in the expectation that a "normal paragraph pattern" will emerge for each genre.

What is a paragraph? A paragraph is a group of thematically related sentences (Longacre 1979:118-20)—either in a coordinate relationship, or one superordinate to the others. The smallest paragraph consists of two sentences (but see sec. 2.3.2.8 for an exception) which as a unit may be superordinate or subordinate to another sentence or paragraph. In other words, paragraphs may be recursive, as Longacre writes (1979:121):

> Paragraph structure is recursive; that is, paragraphs may occur within paragraphs in an open-ended way that is sufficient to account for whatever variety of paragraph structure is encountered anywhere.

Paragraphs may be binary (consisting of two units), or they may be n-ary (consisting of more than two units). Since these units may be manifested by either a sentence or another paragraph which in turn may contain within itself other embedded paragraphs, multiple layers of embedding may occur. So in a long text we may have paragraphs within paragraphs within paragraphs.

Since a paragraph is a grammatical unit, just as a morpheme, stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence, or discourse is a grammatical unit (Longacre 1979:116), it may be composed of sentences and embedded paragraphs just as a sentence may be made up of clauses and embedded sentences. Paragraphs, in turn, are the building blocks of discourse.

Paragraphs typically display onset, thematic unity, and closure. They are "often marked by overt sequence signals (conjunctions, sentence adverbs, back reference to a previous sentence, or deictics). But, even when unmarked ... the notional parallelism with marked structures justifies grammatical analysis" (Longacre 1979:117).

A paragraph analysis is an attempt to describe the propositional relationships which an author or speaker has constructed between the sentences of his discourse. Beekman and Callow (1974:287-312), in trying to trace out the semantic relationships between discourse propositions, distinguish between developmental propositions and support propositions. A developmental proposition is one that carries the discourse one step forward (e.g., a backbone sentence); a support proposition clarifies, argues for, or orients another proposition.

In analyzing the paragraph structure of the *Innana* text I have found Longacre's concept of describing propositional relations in terms of a statement calculus very helpful (1976:98-164; see also fig. 2). Longacre groups conjoining, alternation, temporal, and implication as being basic to the structure of discourse, while paraphrase, illustration, deixis, and attribution he sees as essentially of rhetorical value. What I have done in this study is look at pairs of sentences (see Appendix 2), try to understand and analyze the semantic relations between them, determine and label the paragraph type, and then lay out the paragraph structure of the whole *Innana* text, using indentation to indicate subordination.

2.3.2 Paragraph types

The *Innana* text has seven paragraph types: conjoining paragraphs, temporal paragraphs, implication paragraphs, paraphrase paragraphs, illustration paragraphs, deictic paragraphs, and attributive paragraphs. The only one of Longacre's paragraph type not exemplified is the alternation paragraph.

2.3.2.1 Conjoining paragraph

Longacre (1976:101) distinguishes three types of conjoining relations: coupling, contrast, and comparison. He includes within the coupling relationship the nontemporal *and*-relations; sentences thus joined are usually from the same semantic domain. Contrast paragraphs involve the deep structure *but*-relations (ibid., 104), in which paired lexical oppositions are in effect, whereas the coupling relationship may include an assortment of activities and participants. Contrast relations are two-pronged with at least two opposed pairs of lexical items of which one pair plays a more central role in establishing the contrast than does the other. The third type of conjoining relationship listed by Longacre (1979:109) involves a comparison between the lexical items from one proposition to the next. In the *Innana* text we have three coupling paragraphs and four contrast paragraphs.

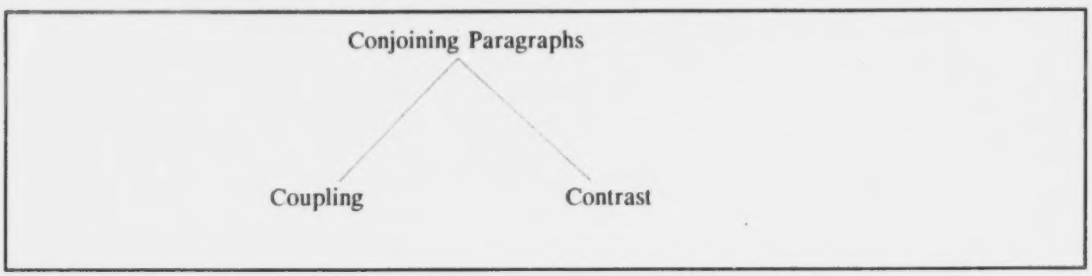

Fig. 8. Conjoining paragraphs in the Innana text.

Coupling paragraph:

Two of the coupling paragraphs in the *Innana* text are binary, and one is trinary. One binary coupling paragraph has an embedded contrast paragraph in its second item, and the trinary coupling paragraph (sentences 40-43) is expounded by single sentences in items 1 and 2, and by a paraphrase paragraph in item 3 (see display in fig. 19).

The first binary coupling paragraph, 46-48 (see display in fig. 20), has sentence 46 expounding its first item, and sentences 47-48 (which together comprise conjoining paragraph 47-48) as its second item.

The second binary coupling paragraph, 51-52, as follows, is expounded in each item by a single sentence (also in fig. 21).

Coupling Paragraph 51, Item 1:

51. Omala cha issan inasinancha ay pasingcha paymo finingitcha
get they NFM salt.their LK share.their or distribute.their

issan Lifon paymo issan Soyok is iyapeycha.
NFM Lifon or NFM Soyok NFM do.Apey.they

51. They get their (uncooked) share that they have salted or their distributed share from the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, to do the *Apey* ritual.

Coupling Paragraph 52, Item 2:

52. Omala cha akhes is tapey paymo fayyas si
get they also NFM rice.wine or sugarcane.wine FM

seng-ewcha ay mangapey.
spit.they LK do.Apey

52. They also get rice wine or sugarcane wine to spit out as part of the *Apey* ritual.

Contrast paragraph:

Each contrast paragraph is binary. The thesis of contrast paragraph 11-13 (see fig. 18) is expounded by sentence 11, while the contrast is expounded by an embedded paraphrase paragraph (sentences 12-13).

The second contrast paragraph, 15-16, as follows, and contrast paragraph 47-48 are each expounded by single sentences in both thesis and contrast.

Finally, contrast paragraph 20-25 is expounded by an embedded paraphrase paragraph as its thesis (sentences 20-24), and sentence 25 as its contrast.

Contrast Paragraph 15, Thesis:

15. Nan nay Lifon, siya nan manganan nan kakachangyan.
FM this Lifon it FM eating.time POSS rich.person,PL

15. This *Lifon* ritual is the time when the rich celebrate.

Contrast Paragraph 16, Contrast:

16. Nay met achi, mafalin ay makifingit nan ib-a ay
this PART PART possible LK share FM friend,PL LK

16. But poor friends can also be given a share.

poposi.
poor.person,PL

2.3.2.2 Alternation paragraph

Although the *Innana* text does not exemplify the alternation paragraph, the distinction between contrast and alternation paragraphs should be noted. The alternation relationship (Longacre 1976:111) turns on one point of difference and includes the deep structure *or*-relations. The contrast relationship, on the other hand, turns on two points of difference.

2.3.2.3 Temporal paragraph

Temporal relations in language are of particular importance in narrative and procedural discourse (see footnotes 2 and 3 in sec. 1.4), and every language distinguishes between temporal overlap and temporal succession (Longacre 1976:113). Although different types of temporal overlap and temporal succession occur in Bontoc, depending on whether the actions are punctiliar or span, in this study I limit the description to what is present in the *Innana* text.

In the *Innana* text there is one temporal overlap paragraph, which Longacre would describe as coterminous overlap, and two temporal succession paragraphs. The first of the temporal succession paragraphs could be described as span-event-span, and the second as span-span. Both of these, however, have further temporal complexity within these paragraph units.

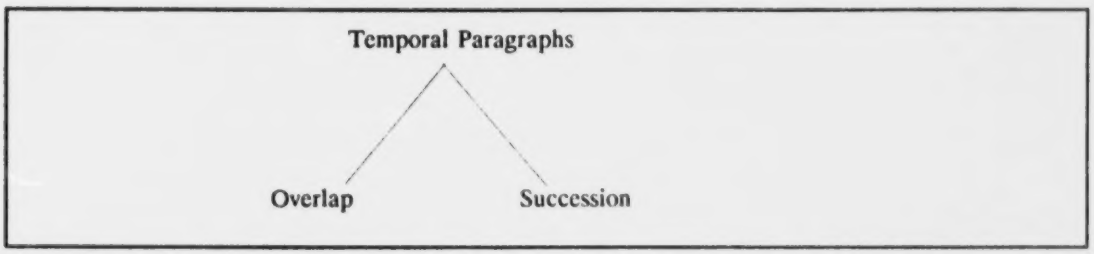

Fig. 9. Temporal paragraphs in the Innana text.

Temporal overlap paragraph:

The co-terminus temporal overlap paragraph encodes build-up 1 of a temporal succession paragraph which is itself embedded within a step of the embedded *Soyok* procedural discourse (see sentences 36-43 in fig. 19). This temporal overlap paragraph is binary, with each co-terminus item being expounded by a single sentence, and with a back-reference prenuclear margin on co-terminus 2, making explicit the temporal overlap relationship:

Temporal Overlap Paragraph 37, Co-terminus 1:

37. Maoto nan poto, chala, atey ya nan tap-in nan kopkop ya
cook FM intestines blood liver and FM other POSS skin and
nan fekhas.
POSS flesh

37. What is cooked is the intestines, the blood, the liver, and some parts of the skin and the flesh.

Temporal Overlap Paragraph 38, Co-terminus 2:

38. Isnan timpo ay cha maoto nan watwat, mangay-ayyeng nan
NFM time LK CONT cook FM meat sing.ayyeng FM
amam-a.
old.man,PL

38. While the meat is cooking, the old men sing the *ayyeng* song.

Temporal succession paragraph:

Of the two temporal succession paragraphs in the *Innana* text, one is binary (see sentences 61-62 in fig. 21), while the other is trinary. This second paragraph (see sentences 37-43 in fig. 19) contains two embedded paragraphs, the first in build-up 1, and the second in build-up 3. In build-up 1 there is a coterminous temporal succession of span events, in build-up 2 a punctiliar event, and in build-up 3 we have three events which in real life occur in temporal succession, recast into a conjoining relationship. This is all included in temporal succession paragraph 37-43:

Temporal Succession Paragraph 37-43

Build-up 1: Temporal Overlap Paragraph 37-38

Build-up 2:

39. Mo mangancha tomke nan ayyeng.
when eat.they stop FM ayyeng

39. When they eat, they stop singing the *ayyeng* song.

Build-up 3: Conjoining Paragraph 40-43 (see display in fig. 19)

The other temporal succession paragraph (sentences 61-62) includes three events in temporal succession all within one sentence in build-up 1, and two span events which in real life occur in temporal succession, recast into an explanatory sentence in build-up 2:

Temporal Succession Paragraph 61, Build-up 1:

61. Faikhencha sachat lakhiman ya sepwaken nan manok.
beat.they then.they,PART burn and section FM chicken

61. They kill the chicken, then burn the feathers and butcher it.

Temporal Succession Paragraph 62, Build-up 2:

62. Otowencha, magtek kecheng nan fitli ya nan potona nan
cook.they but only FM gizzard and FM intestine.its FM
sibfancha id ilit.
viand.their at outside

62. They cook it, but it is only the gizzard and its intestines that they eat outside the village.

2.3.2.4 Implication paragraph

Within this category of elaborative structures, Longacre includes a variety of logical sequence relations, each of which contains some sort of *if/then* sequence. That is, each has an antecedent and a consequent (e.g., conditionality, causation, contrafactuality, and warning). In the *Innana* text, there are only two implications, one expressing causation, and the other, warning. Within causation Longacre

(1976:124-31) has several further subdivisions: efficient cause, final cause, and circumstance. Circumstance he considers to be a weak variety of efficient cause, but often with its own distinctive surface structure. The circumstances in this case are the given, and the result the consequences. Warning, he says, has a specially inflected predicate, plus an undesirable implication. Since the *Innana* text contains only two implication paragraphs, and since the causation paragraph occurs within the warning paragraph, we will deal with them together at this point, beginning with the warning paragraph.

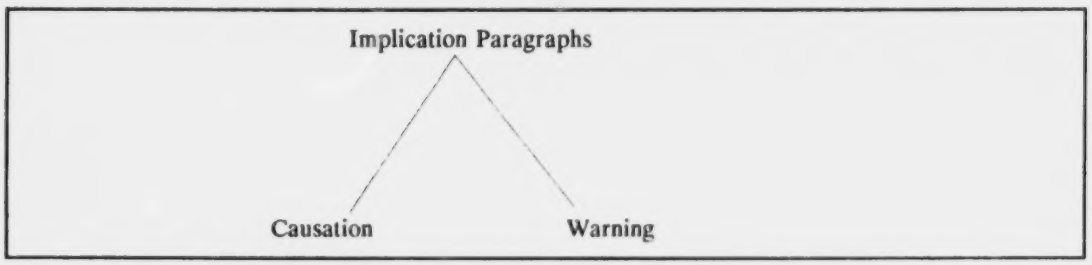

Fig. 10. Implication paragraphs in the Innana text.

Warning paragraph 85-89 is expounded by a single sentence in the text (sentence 85), and by an illustration paragraph (sentences 86-89) in the warning. This illustration paragraph carries the undesirable implication of the warning, and is itself expounded by a single sentence in the text (sentence 86), and by an implication paragraph in its exemplification (sentences 87-89):

Text:

85. Siya akhes nan mangipafikas isnan anan-ak ay inchog-an
this also FM strengthen NFM offspring,PL LK manage.well

ta way iwalakcha isnan Innana.
so.that there.is contribute.they NFM Innana

85. That also is what causes children to be encouraged to manage well so that they will have a contribution for the *Innana* rituals.

Warning Illustration Paragraph 86-89, Text:

86. Tay mo ad-i cha inchog-an et mid iwalakcha isnan
because if not they manage.well CONJ none contribute.they NFM

Innana.
Innana

86. Because if they don't manage well, they will have no contribution for the *Innana* rituals.

Exemplification, Implication Paragraph 87-89 (see next example):

Implication paragraph 87-89 is a causation paragraph expounded by a single sentence (sentence 87) in its circumstances slot, and by an illustration paragraph (sentences 88-89) in its result slot:

Causation Paragraph 87-89, Circumstances:

87. Nan esay takho ay ad-i inwalwalak et siyachi isnan esay
FM one,LK person LK not contribute CONJ it.that NFM one,LK

tawen.
year

87. If a person does not contribute, that's okay for one year.

Result Illustration Paragraph 88-89, Text:

88. Nan pay katawetawen!
FM again year,PL

88. How about for other years!

Exemplification Attribution Paragraph 89 (see sec. 2.3.2.8):

2.3.2.5 Paraphrase paragraph

The paraphrase is the first of the elaborative paragraphs, and is the most predominant and most versatile paragraph type in the *Innana* text. Of the eight types discussed by Longacre, namely, negated-antonym, equivalence, generic-specific, specific-genre, amplification, contraction, summary, and its converse, preview, we have only three in the *Innana*: a single negated-antonym paragraph, two preview paragraphs, and ten amplification paragraphs.

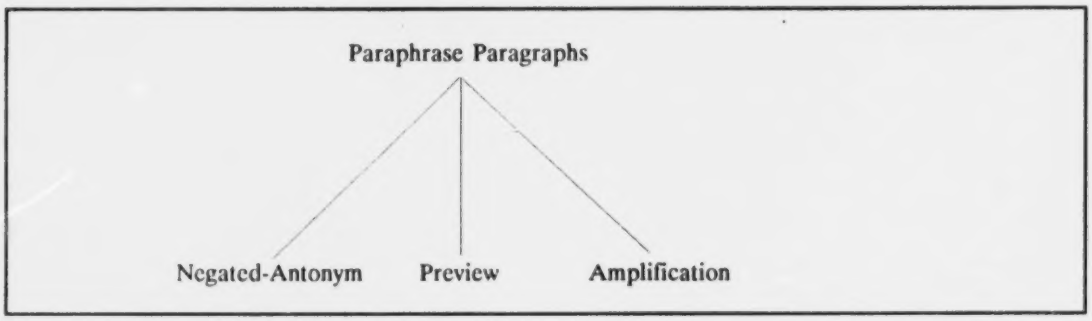

Fig. 11. Paraphrase paragraphs in the Innana text.

All paraphrase paragraphs except preview are binary, and several amplification paragraphs contain embedded paragraphs of different types.

Negated-antonym paragraph:

The negated-antonym paragraph, which Longacre describes as one of the closest possible varieties of paraphrase, occurs at the peak of the *Tengaw* ritual. It is binary, with both text and negated-antonym being expounded by single sentences, serving to clarify and emphasize the peak of the embedded procedure:

Negated-antonym Paragraph 79, Text:

79. Kawaksana, intengaw nan katakhotakho.
tomorrow.time.its hold.Tengaw FM total.population

79. The next day, the people observe the *Tengaw* ritual rest day.

Negated-antonym Paragraph 80, Negated-antonym:

80. Mid mamokfoknag.
none go.to.field

80. Nobody goes to the fields.

Preview paragraph:

Preview paragraphs, by their very nature, are n-ary. The first item, the preview, gives a summary of what is to follow. The items in each preview paragraph in the *Innana* text are abbreviated equational sentences:

Preview Paragraph 65-67, Preview:

65. Tolo et nan am-among isnan Innana.
three PART FM gathering NFM Innana

65. There are three gatherings for the *Innana* rituals.

Preview Paragraph 65-67, Item 1:

66. Am-among isnan Lifon ay kwan si kakachangyan.
gathering NFM Lifon LK belong POSS rich.person,PL

66. The gathering for the *Lifon* ritual is for the rich.

Preview Paragraph 65-67, Item 2:

67. Am-among isnan Soyok ya am-among isnan Apey.
gathering NFM Soyok and gathering NFM Apey

67. The gathering for the *Soyok* ritual and the *Apey* ritual (are the other two).

Amplification paragraph:

Amplification paragraphs may be composed of sentences containing active, passive, or equative predications in their independent clauses. The amplification, which builds on and adds to the information in the text, may be expounded by a similar variety of sentences, or by deictic (sentences 3-5), temporal (sentences 36-43, 60-62), or conjoining paragraphs (sentences 10-13). Amplification paragraph 77-78 is expounded by single sentences in both text and amplification. In this case both have active predicates in their independent clauses:

Amplification Paragraph 77 (active predicates), Text:

77. Isnan maschem insalang nan ongang-a.
NFM night announce FM child,PL

77. At night the children announce the *Tengaw* ritual.

Amplification Paragraph 78 (active predicates), Amplification:

78a. Ifokhawchay
call.they,LK

78a. They shout,

78b. "Is wakas et Tengaw."
at morrow CONJ Tengaw

78b. "Tomorrow is a *Tengaw* ritual rest day."

Amplification Paragraph 12 (stative predicates), Text:

12. Nan ad-i mafingit maiskhep is afong.
FM not share put.inside NFM house

12. What is not to be distributed is put inside the house.

Amplification Paragraph 13 (stative predicates), Amplification:

13. Miskhep is afong nan choway lapa, choway opo, atey,
put.inside NFM house FM two,LK foreleg two,LK hind.leg liver

fowang, olo, chala, ya nan kopkop.
stomach head blood and FM skin

13. The two forelegs, the two hind legs, the liver, stomach, the head, the blood, and the skin are all put inside the house.

Amplification Paragraph 58 (equatative predicates in independent clauses), Text:

58. Isnan esay payew esay paloki nan isokfitcha iska
NFM one,LK rice.field one,LK paloki FM insert.they LOC

topingna paymo sipitencha isnan lolo sachat ipadsek.
rock.wall.its or wedge.they NFM stick then.they,PART embed

58. In each rice field they insert one stem of *paloki* between the stones of the rock wall, or wedge it into a (split) stick and embed it in the rice field.

Amplification Paragraph 59 (equatative predicates in independent clauses), Amplification:

59. Mo sinpoo nan payewna et sinpoo akhes ay paloki nan
if ten FM rice.field.his PART ten also LK paloki FM

maosal.
use

59. If he has ten rice fields, he also uses ten *paloki*.

Text and amplification may also be of different predicate types, for example, active-equational (sentences 29-30), stative-active (sentences 73-74), active-stative (sentences 10-13). We have no examples of stative- equational, equational-stative, or equational-active text-amplification paraphrase paragraphs, but no doubt a wider corpus of text would provide such.

2.3.2.6 Illustration paragraph

Illustration paragraphs occur where a speaker or writer illustrates a point. In the *Innana* text, illustration paragraphs are binary and frequently contain embedded paragraphs in the second item.

Longacre distinguishes two types of illustration paragraph: simile and exemplification. There are no examples of the former in the *Innana* text, but seven of the latter. Illustration paragraph 17-19 has an embedded deictic paragraph in its exemplification:

Illustration Paragraph 17, Text:

17. Isnan maschem nan chey ay Lifon, mangan chay kakachangyan.
NFM night POSS that LK Lifon eat they,LK rich.person,PL

17. The night of that *Lifon* ritual,the rich eat.

Exemplification Deictic Paragraph 18, Text:

18. Maam-among nan sinpangapo paymo nan sinpangafong yangkhay.
gather FM clan or FM household only

18. The whole clan or just the household gather.

Exemplification Deictic Paragraph 19, Identification:

19. Mo akit nan maamong, siya chi nan kananchan, "Sinalikhebkheb".
if few FM gather this that FM say.they,QF exclusive

19. If there are only a few who gather, it is called "an exclusive group".

In contrast to the preceding paragraph, illustration paragraph 28-30 is expounded by an embedded paraphrase paragraph (sentences 29-30):

Illustration Paragraph 28, Text:

28. Nan Soyok kaagna nan Lifon.
FM Soyok like.it FM Lifon

28. The *Soyok* ritual is similar to the *Lifon* ritual.

Exemplification Paraphrase Paragraph 29, Text:

29. In-ala chas fotog magtek nan Soyok kwan si katakhotakho.
get they,NFM pig but FM Soyok belong POSS total.population

29. They butcher pigs, but the *Soyok* ritual is for all the people.

Exemplification Paraphrase Paragraph 30, Amplification:

30. Ad-i kag nan Lifon ay kwan yangkhay si kakachangyan.
not like FM Lifon LK belong only POSS rich.person,PL

30. It is not like the *Lifon* ritual, which is only for the rich.

Illustration paragraph 86-89, while itself expounding the warning of an implication paragraph (see display in fig. 23), contains multiple layers of embedding within its exemplification. Its text is expounded by sentence 86, and its exemplification by an implication paragraph (sentences 87-89). This implication paragraph is in turn expounded by an illustration paragraph (sentences 88-89) in its result item:

Illustration Paragraph 86, Text:

86. Tay mo ad-i cha inchog-an et mid iwalakcha isnan
because if not they manage.well CONJ none contribute.they NFM
Inanna.
Innana

86. Because if they don't manage well, they will have no contribution for the *Innana* rituals.

Exemplification Implication Paragraph 87, Circumstances:

87. Nan esay takho ay ad-i inwalwalak et siyachi isnan esay
FM one,LK person LK not contribute CONJ it.that NFM one,LK
tawen.
year

87. If a person does not contribute, that's okay for one year.

Result Illustration Paragraph 88, Text:

88. Nan pay katawetawen!
FM again year,PL

88. How about for other years!

Result Illustration Paragraph 89, Exemplification:

89a. Nan sikhab nan inwalakana et tellachencha tay
FM difficulty POSS contribute.time.his CONJ cut.off.they because
kananchan,
say.they,QF

89a. His difficulty at the time of contributing is this, they cut him from participating because they say,

89b. "Ay ke lagwey ta aped kas makikikan olay mid
PART PART vegetables so.that just you,NFM eat.with even none
walakmo!"
contribution.your

89b. "Is it just vegetables that we are eating that you just join in eating, even if you have made no contribution!"

2.3.2.7 Deictic paragraph

Longacre includes within the deictic relationship several semantic relations, the most important of which are introduction and identification. The introduction deep structure is of particular utility in introducing new information, or new participants, about which a further predication is immediately made. Only one such paragraph has been identified in the *Innana* text. However, there are several identification paragraphs, in which a participant or concept is first introduced via a predication, and then his function or significance in the discourse is identified. All examples of deictic paragraphs in the *Innana* text are binary except one, which is trinary.

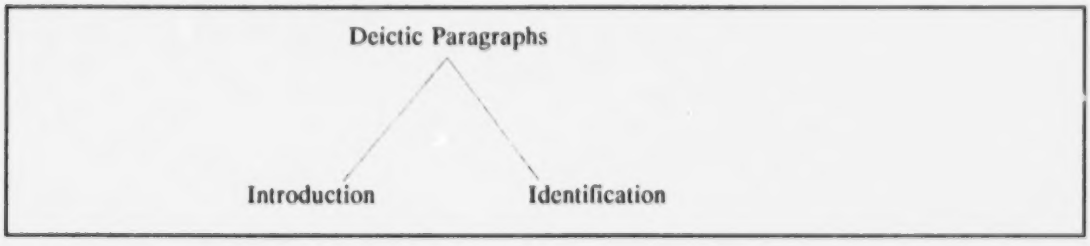

Fig. 12. Deictic paragraphs in the Innana text.

All deictic texts except one are expounded by sentences, but introductions and identifications regularly encode multiple layers of embedding. In fact, deictic paragraphs encode a wider variety of embedded

paragraph types than any other paragraph type in the *Innana* text. This, of course, is a reflection of their role in the discourse.

Introduction paragraph:

In the *Innana* text the only introduction paragraph is in sentences 63b-67. In this paragraph the final relative clause of sentence 63 serves to introduce the predication of sentence 64, which the author chooses to downgrade from the status of step in the embedded procedural discourse to an explanatory paragraph attached somewhat loosely to the step. This looseness of relationship between sentences 64-67 and 63 has made this paragraph one of the most difficult in the text to analyze:

Introduction Paragraph 63, Text:

63. Mo kinonfoscha ay nangapey isnan kapayepayewcha,
if finish.they LK do.Apey NFM LOC,rice.field,PL,their

isaacha nan inyapeycha isnan afong ay manganancha.
go.home.they FM do.Apey.they NFM house LK eating.time.their

63. When they have finished the *Apey* ritual in the rice fields, they bring home the meat used in the ritual to the house where they will eat.

Predication Deictic Paragraph 64, Text:

64. Isnan maschem milokhi nan am-among isnan Apey.
NFM night begin FM gathering NFM Apey

64. At night the gathering for the *Apey* ritual begins.

Identification: Paraphrase Paragraph 65-67

Identification paragraph:

The *Innana* text has nine identification paragraphs. Five of these have embedded paragraphs in their identification slots: illustration (sentences 1-5, 73-76); conjoining (sentences 14-16); paraphrase (sentences 64-67); and implication (sentences 83-89).

The texts of identification paragraphs in the *Innana* frequently have stative predicates. This is a reflection in part of the stage-setting role played by identification paragraphs.

The first sentence of the identification slot of identification paragraphs in the *Innana* text, however, is usually expounded by sentences with an equatative predicate in the independent clause. (In the only exception, this first identification sentence has a stative predicate.) Taken together with the fact that each pre-identification sentence has a higher transitivity level, there is always a sharp drop in transitivity at the text/identification interface. Deictic paragraph 8-9 illustrates a change from stative to equative predicates at the text/identification interface:

Deictic Paragraph 8, Text:

8. Matotyacha nan papangolo mo sino ken chaicha nan maala nan
talk.they FM leader,PL if who NFM them FM take FM

fotogcha.
pig.their

8. The elders discuss whose pigs will be taken to be butchered.

Deictic Paragraph 9, Identification:

9. Fafoy nan ilifon nan kakachangyan.
big.pig FM kill.for.Lifon FM rich.person,PL

9. The rich provide a big pig for the *Lifon* ritual.

Again, the text of deictic paragraph 14-16 is expounded by a sentence, while the identification is expounded by a conjoining paragraph (sentences 15-16), the first sentence of which is expounded by a sentence (sentence 15) with an equatative predicate in its independent clause:

Deictic Paragraph 14, Text:

14. Nan nay chay eg-ay nafingit eyeycha isnan afong ay
FM this those,LK not share take.they NFM house LK

maamongancha.
gathering.place.their

14. Those parts not to be distributed are taken to the house where they will gather.

Identification Conjoining Paragraph 15, Text:

15. Nan nay Lifon, siya nan manganan nan kakachangyan.
FM this Lifon it FM eating.time POSS rich.person,PL

15. This *Lifon* ritual is the time when the rich celebrate.

Identification Conjoining Paragraph 16, Contrast:

16. Nay met achi, mafalin ay makifingit nan ib-a ay
this PART PART possible LK share FM friend,PL LK

poposi.
poor.person,PL

16. But poor friends can also be given a share.

Deictic paragraph 18-19 illustrates the difficulty an analyst may have in deciding the semantic relations between sentences. If sentence 19 is an expansion (identification) of the lexical item *nan sinpangafong* 'the household', then 18-19 is a deictic paragraph. If, however, sentence 19 is primarily an amplification of the predicate of sentence 18, then it is understood to be a paraphrase paragraph. This deictic paragraph is expounded by single sentences in both text and identification:

Deictic Paragraph 18, Text:

18. Maam-among nan sinpangapo payno nan sinpangafong yangkhay.
gather FM clan or FM household only

18. The whole clan or just the household gather.

Deictic Paragraph 19, Identification:

19. Mo akit nan maamong, siya chi nan kananchan, "Sinalikhebkheb".
if few FM gather this that FM say.they,QF exclusive

19. If there are only a few who gather, it is called "an exclusive group".

2.3.2.8 Attribution paragraph

Attribution paragraphs may be either speech attribution or awareness attribution. Speech attribution is a direct or indirect quotation. Awareness attribution is similar: the author says that someone is aware of something using such predicates as *know, feel, sense,* etc. In the *Innana* text we have only speech attribution.

Each of the three attribution paragraphs in the *Innana* text are embedded within single sentences (sentences 54, 78, and 89). Each one is a quotation of what is said or may be said in real life:

Attribution Paragraph 54a, Quote Formula:

54a. Sachat alan nan paloki ya togpopancha isnan tapey
then.they,PART get FM paloki and spit.they NFM rice.wine

ay mangwanin,
LK say,QF

54a. Then they get a *paloki* plant and spit rice wine onto it, saying,

Attribution Paragraph 54b, Quotation:

54b. "Togpopak sik-a ay paloki ta mapigpikhipig nan pakhey,
spit.I you LK paloki so.that tall.and.straight FM rice
ta maikaskasiw isnan otot, faniyas, tilin ya isnan am-in ay
so.that free NFM rat lizard rice.bird and NFM all LK
mamakawas isnan payew ya isnan pakhey."
destroy NFM rice.field and NFM rice

54b. "I spit on you, *paloki*, so that the rice plants will grow tall, so that they will be free from rats, lizards, rice birds, and all that destroy the fields and the rice plants."

Attribution Paragraph 78a, Quote Formula:

78a. Ifokhawchay
call.they,LK

78a. They shout,

Attribution Paragraph 78b, Quotation:

78b. "Is wakas et Tengaw."
at morrow CONJ Tengaw

78b. "Tomorrow is a *Tengaw* ritual rest day."

Attribution Paragraph 89a, Quote Formula:

89a. Nan sikhab nan inwalakana et tellachencha tay
FM difficulty POSS contribute.time.his CONJ cut.off.they because
kananchan,
say.they,QF

89a. His difficulty at the time of contributing is this, they cut him from participating because they say,

Attribution Paragraph 89b, Quotation:

89b. "Ay ke lagwey ta aped kas makikikan olay mid
PART PART vegetables so.that just you,NFM eat.with even none
walakmo!
contribution.your

89b. "Is it just vegetables that we are eating that you just join in eating, even if you have made no contribution!"

2.4 The distinctive roles of paragraph types in the *Innana* text

In the present study, I have isolated seven of Longacre's eight major paragraph types, some of which have subtypes, making thirteen distinct types in the *Innana* text. In this chapter we look at these thirteen paragraph types and the roles they exercise in the discourse as a whole.

Reid's description of the difference between procedural and activity discourse in Central Bontoc (1970:114-16, 128-37) shows that Waltz's assumption (1976:23) holds true for paragraph types in Central Bontoc:

> Each grammatical unit has its own special function in relation to the discourse. Also, each discourse type assigns specific functions to the grammatical units which constitute it. That is, the parts (grammatical units below the discourse) function in such a way as to determine the whole (the discourse type); and the whole (the discourse type with its specific purpose) determines the functions of the parts.

Although procedural and activity discourse types in Central Bontoc have almost identical person orientation, tense orientation, and linkage, their paragraph composition is quite different.

In the following discussion of paragraph types in the *Innana* text we assume that the author chose the paragraph types so as to achieve his rather specific goals in the discourse. In other words, we assume that the spread of a variety of paragraph types in the *Innana* text is systematic, not purely random.

2.4.1 The role of conjoining paragraphs in the discourse

Within the *Innana* text are several examples of two types of conjoining paragraphs. Both paragraph types seem to function on much the same level within the text, but with antithetical roles. Coupling paragraphs coordinate actions which themselves are potential procedural steps, while contrast paragraphs give a contrast to an action that is a potential step in a procedure.

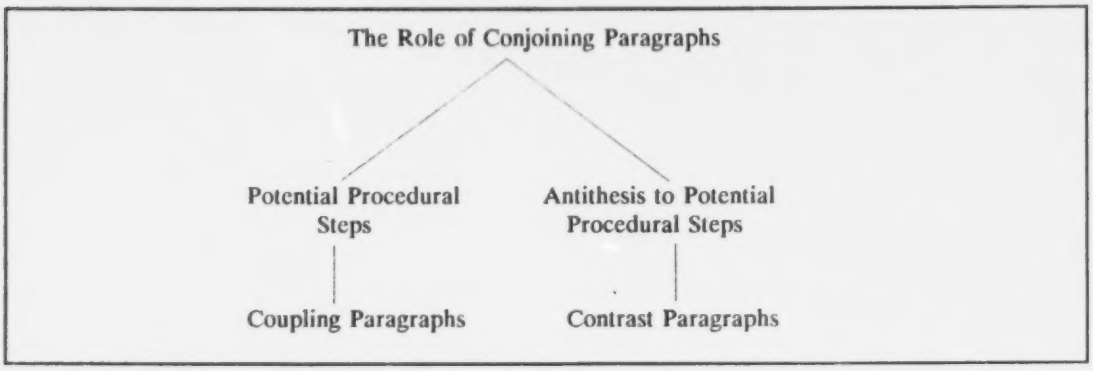

Fig. 13. The role of conjoining paragraphs in the Innana text.

Contrast paragraphs contrast the roles of rich and poor people in the *Lifon* ritual (sentences 15-16), what happens in a two-way division of meat (sentences 11-13), and the fortunes of males and females in the reception of meat (sentences 20-25). The final contrast paragraph (sentences 47-48) differentiates those people who have killed a pig for the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals and those who have not. Each of these four contrast paragraphs presents a contrast with another action that is potentially a procedural step.

Coupling paragraphs, on the other hand, join together actions that are potential steps of embedded procedural discourses. In coupling paragraph 51-52 (see sec. 2.3.2.1. where this paragraph is given in full), we have two actions encoded by indicative active predicates. At first glance, these two sentences could well be considered steps in the embedded *Apey* ritual procedural discourse. But, in fact, they are downgraded to become an action setting for the procedural discourse, achieved by encoding the sentences in a coordinate relationship to each other rather than in a temporal sequence relationship. This is done by removing the temporal or sequence pre-margin on the second sentence and by adding the adverb *akhes* 'also'. In a similar way, but using a more explanatory surface structure, coupling paragraph 40-43 joins together three potentially procedural steps without temporal sequence markers, by the double use of the auxiliary *kasin* 'again'.

Finally, coupling paragraphs 46-48 and 73-76 are potentially embedded procedural discourses, since they encode the *Mangmang* and *Patay* rituals. Of the six rituals that make up the *Innana*, only these are not embedded procedural discourses. The *Mangmang* ritual is accorded a subtitle (sentence 45); but instead of stating the procedural steps that make up the details of the ritual, the author chooses simply to state two significant actions of the ritual in a single conjoining paragraph, assuming that the reader can fill in the rest of the details.

The *Patay* ritual (sentences 73-76) is abbreviated even more than the *Mangmang*. It is not given a subtitle nor is it encoded in active verbs. Again, the steps of the performance of the ritual are omitted, and only a few significant details are embedded in a coupling paragraph.

2.4.2 The role of alternation paragraphs

The *Innana* text contains no example of an alternation paragraph, nor do any other procedural-type Central Bontoc discourses we have studied thus far. In Central Bontoc procedures, when an alternation relationship is set up between propositions, it is handled on the sentence, rather than the paragraph, level. In other words, when an author or speaker wishes to give an alternative procedure or activity, he encodes that option within an alternative sentence (Reid 1970:85-87).

In hortatory discourse, however, a Central Bontoc speaker may make frequent use of alternation paragraphs (Reid 1970:87, example 5; 141-47). This finding may lend support to Nathan Waltz's thesis that the selective use of paragraph types is systematic within a language, or, as he put it (1976:141), "A given grammatical unit is required in certain contexts and is necessarily absent in other contexts."

2.4.3 The role of temporal paragraphs in the discourse

Temporal paragraphs are embedded within steps of the embedded procedural discourse to illustrate non-backbone events at important stages of the *Innana* rituals. In the *Soyok* ritual the temporal paragraphs reinforce the importance of the gathering together of the clan (step 3 in sentence 36) by giving a series of seven events: cooking, singing, distributing meat, etc., events that accompany the clan fiesta. In the *Apey* ritual the temporal paragraph (sentences 61-62) explains what must be done at the crucial point of the ritual if the rice field has its own spring of water. This also involves a number of embedded events not performed by the main group of people.

2.4.4 The role of implication paragraphs in the discourse

Implication paragraphs are argumentative devices. In persuasion, argument, and such hortatory type discourse we would expect to find a much greater variety and proportion of implication paragraphs than we do in the *Innana* text, since most of the *Innana* text is non-expository. Yet when we look at the text, it is highly significant that implication paragraphs occur only in the CONCLUSION, where the author is arguing a case for his claim that the *Innana* is one of the best of Bontoc customs, a claim he made back in sentence 2 of the SETTING of the text. The author uses these two implication paragraphs to carry his argument through towards his emotive climax in sentence 89.

2.4.5 The role of paraphrase paragraphs in the discourse

Paraphrase paragraphs are the explanatory workhorse paragraphs in the *Innana* text. The author uses them both for low-level and high-level specification. He uses them to give relatively insignificant details, for example, which pieces of meat are taken into the house (see amplification paragraphs 12-13 and 58-59 in sec. 2.3.2.5) He also uses them to specify and underline very important explanations, and steps in embedded procedural discourses, as illustrated by paragraphs 3-5, 10-13, and 36-43. For example, amplification paragraph 3-5 embodies the table of contents of the SETTING, a very important part of the *Innana* text:

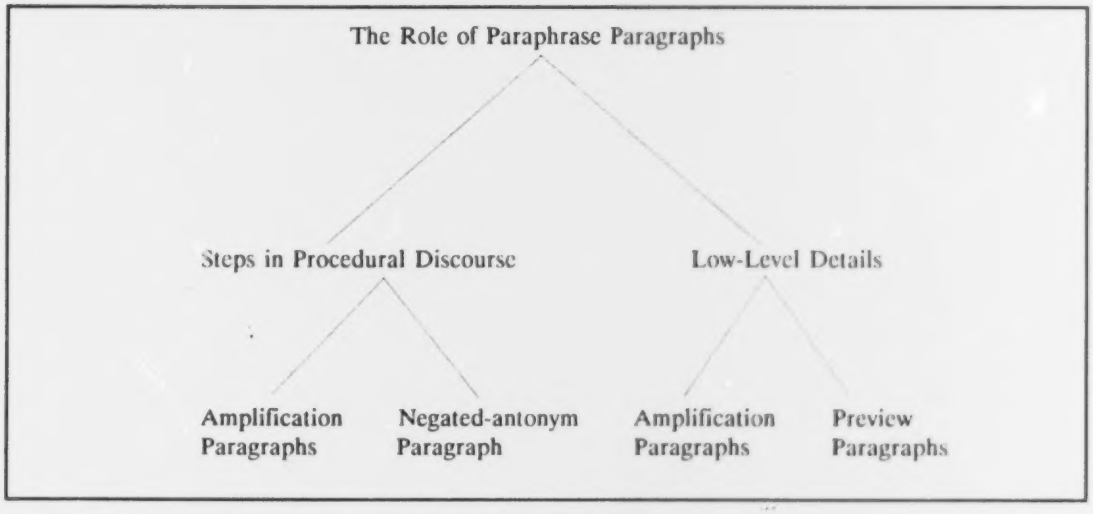

Fig. 14. The role of paraphrase paragraphs in the Innana text.

Amplification Paragraph 3-5, Text:

3. Maangnen nan nay Innana isnan tinawen ay kalpasan nan kifos
is.done FM this Innana NFM each.year LK finish.time FM end

si sama ya toned isnan chinakhon.
POSS field.work and plant NFM each.dry.season

3. This *Innana* ritual is done every year just after the end of the working of the fields and the planting in the dry season.

Amplification Deictic Paragraph 4-5, Text:

4a. Isnan timpom nan Innana, maangnen omona nan Lifon;
NFM time.of POSS Innana is.done first FM Lifon

4a. At the time of the *Innana*, the *Lifon* ritual is done first;

Amplification Deictic Paragraph 5, Identification:

5. Nan kadchakhopan nan lima ay inon-onko siya nan makwanin
FM all.together POSS five LK detail.I this FM call,QF

Innana.
Innana

5. The five rituals that I have outlined are together called the *Innana* rituals.

Again amplification paragraph 10-13 is the first step of the *Lifon* embedded procedural discourse. The importance of the step is shown by this paraphrase paragraph:

Amplification Paragraph 10-13, Text:

10. Mo nakhaeb nan totyacha, enchat alaen nan
if made FM discussion.their go.they,PART get FM

ilifoncha et khekhechencha isnan afob-ong nan chey ninkwa
for.Lifon.their CONJ divide.they NFM house,PL POSS those owner

isnan fotog ay milifon.
POSS pig LK for.Lifon

10. When they have reached a decision, they will go to get what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual, and they will cut it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual.

Amplification Conjoining Paragraph 11-13, Thesis:

11. Mafingit nan maala.
share FM take

11. The sections of the meat to be distributed are shared out.

Contrast Paraphrase Paragraph 12-13 (see sec. 2.3.2.5):

Amplification paragraph 36-43 is the peak of the *Soyok* ritual embedded procedural discourse. The importance of the peak is shown by this amplification giving a commentary on the events concomitant with the peak:

Amplification Paragraph 36-43, Text:

36. Isnan chey ay maschem si Soyok, mangan nan maam-among ay
NFM that LK night POSS Soyok eat FM gather LK

sinpangapo paymo sinpangafong.
clan or household

36. That night of the *Soyok* ritual, the clan or household who are gathered eat together.

Amplification: Temporal Paragraph 37-43 (see sec. 2.3.2.3 where this paragraph is exemplified). Sentences 37-43 list what meat is cooked and inform us that while it is cooking the men sing their *ayyeng* chant and that three different types of meat are handed out.

This high-level role is fulfilled by both amplification and negated-antonym paragraphs, while the low-level role is discharged by preview and amplification paragraphs (see sec. 2.3.2.5).

2.4.6 The role of illustration paragraphs in the discourse

The role of illustration paragraphs is similar to the high-level explanatory role of paraphrase paragraphs, but with minor adjustments. Paraphrase paragraphs extend the thought of the predication of a clause of the text sentence, so when they are used as a step in a procedure, they tend to focus attention on the step. In contrast, illustration paragraphs tend to take a slightly different tack than the predication of the text and so do not to the same extent underscore the procedure. Illustration paragraphs tend to explain something associated with the step, rather than the step itself. This being so, more important steps in embedded rituals tend to be rhetorically underlined by paraphrase paragraphs, while less important steps are expanded with illustration paragraphs. This is exemplified by illustration paragraph 17-19. In sentence 18 the author shifts attention from the act of eating in sentence 17 to those who have gathered:

Illustration Paragraph 17-19, Text:

17. Isnan maschem nan chey ay Lifon, mangan chay kakachangyan.
NFM night POSS that LK Lifon eat they,LK rich.person,PL

17. The night of that *Lifon* ritual, the rich eat.

Exemplification Deictic Paragraph 18, Text:

18. Maam-among nan sinpangapo paymo nan sinpangafong yangkhay.
gather FM clan or FM household only

18. The whole clan or just the household gather.

Exemplification Deictic Paragraph 19, Identification:

19. Mo akit nan maamong, siya chi nan kananchan, "Sinalikhebkheb".
if few FM gather this that FM say.they,QF exclusive

19. If there are only a few who gather, it is called "an exclusive group".

Illustration paragraphs are also more useful to the author in an explanatory role. So in the SETTING and CONCLUSION of the text we have three illustration paragraphs compared to one paraphrase paragraph.

Hierarchically, paraphrase paragraphs tend to be embedded within illustration paragraphs, but not vice versa. On three occasions (sentences 2-5, 28-30, and 57-59) we have paraphrase paragraphs embedded within illustration, but nowhere do we have illustration paragraphs embedded within paraphrase. Only a wider corpus of text will show whether this is a random occurrence, an author-specific idiosyncrasy, a genre-specific tendency, or in fact a trend in the language as a whole. For example, in illustration paragraph 28-30, which is the setting for the *Soyok* ritual embedded procedural discourse, the paraphrase paragraph is embedded within it:

Illustration Paragraph 28-30, Text:

28. Nan Soyok kaagna nan Lifon.
FM Soyok like.it FM Lifon

28. The *Soyok* ritual is similar to the *Lifon* ritual.

Exemplification Paraphrase Paragraph 29, Text:

29. In-ala chas fotog magtek nan Soyok kwan si
get they,NFM pig but FM Soyok belong POSS

katakhotakho.
total.population

29. They butcher pigs, but the *Soyok* ritual is for all the people.

Exemplification Paraphrase Paragraph 30, Amplification:

30. Ad-i kag nan Lifon ay kwan yangkhay si kakachangyan.
not like FM Lifon LK belong only POSS rich.person,PL

30. It is not like the *Lifon* ritual, which is only for the rich.

2.4.7 The role of deictic paragraphs in the discourse

2.4.7.1 The role of the introduction paragraph

Nothing general can be said about the systematic use of introduction paragraphs since there is only one example in the *Innana* text. What can be said is that its role is different from the role of identification paragraphs. The author uses this introduction paragraph to introduce and downplay a coordinate event, gathering to eat, which in both the *Lifon* and *Soyok* rituals had step status in the embedded procedural discourse. In the *Apey* ritual (sentences 50-71) there are more important events then eating, so the gathering-eating event is downgraded via this paragraph to an explanatory section.

2.4.7.2 The role of identification paragraphs

In the *Innana* text as a whole, both the SETTING (sentences 1-5) and the CONCLUSION (sentences 83-89) are deictic identification paragraphs. Thus, identification paragraphs are the highest-level explanatory paragraph in the text. The first level of explanatory embedding within the identification paragraph is an illustration paragraph in the SETTING and an implication paragraph in the CONCLUSION.

One way of looking at identification paragraphs would be to see them as stage-setting paragraphs: In the SETTING an identification paragraph sets the stage not only for the whole discourse, but also for the explanatory SETTING. And in the CONCLUSION it sets the stage for the persuasive segment of the text, which is then carried on by implication paragraphs in conjunction with illustration paragraphs. (See discussion of the role of implication paragraphs in sec. 2.4.4).

Within embedded procedural discourses identification paragraphs also adopt a stage-setting role. This is very clear in deictic paragraph 8-9, which sets the stage for the first step of the *Lifon* ritual:

Deictic Paragraph 8-9, Text:

8. Matotyacha nan papangolo mo sino ken chaicha nan maala nan
talk.they FM leader,PL if who NFM them FM take FM

fotogcha.
pig.their

8. The elders discuss whose pigs will be taken to be butchered.

Deictic Paragraph 9, Identification:

9. Fafoy nan ilifon nan kakachangyan.
big.pig FM kill.for.Lifon FM rich.person,PL

9. The rich provide a big pig for the *Lifon* ritual.

Identification paragraph 14-16 is a different situation again. This deictic paragraph both encodes a full step in the *Lifon* ritual and gives the setting for the next step of the procedure. In real life this step is a transition between the butchering (sentence 10) and the eating (sentence 17), both of which are full steps:

Deictic Paragraph 14-16, Text:

14. Nan nay chay eg-ay nafingit eyeycha isnan afong ay
FM this those,LK not share take.they NFM house LK

maamongancha.
gathering.place.their

14. Those parts not to be distributed are taken to the house where they will gather.

Identification Conjoining Paragraph 15, Text:

15. Nan nay Lifon, siya nan manganan nan kakachangyan.
FM this Lifon it FM eating.time POSS rich.person,PL

15. This *Lifon* ritual is the time when the rich celebrate.

Identification Conjoining Paragraph 16, Contrast:

16. Nay met achi, mafalin ay makifingit nan ib-a ay
this PART PART possible LK share FM friend,PL LK

poposi.
poor.person,PL

16. But poor friends can also be given a share.

Immediately following this, we have another identification paragraph embedded within step 3 (identification paragraph 18-19; see sec. 2.3.2.6). The step in this case is an illustration paragraph, with the exemplification manifested by a deictic paragraph. This deictic paragraph is again a stage-setting device filling out the picture of what happens when Bontoc people celebrate the *Lifon* feast. However, this stage-setting paragraph occurs after the step, rather than before.

In summary, deictic identification paragraphs are potentially, though not necessarily, high-level paragraphs, and are extensively used by the author of the *Innana* text in a setting-type role.

2.4.8 The role of attributive paragraphs in the discourse

Each attribution paragraph occurs at an important point in the *Innana* text. For instance, of the nine steps of the *Apey* embedded procedural discourse, sentence 54, that is, attribution paragraph 54, is the cornerstone. Without that ritual prayer who knows what would happen to the food supply. For in the context of the Bontoc yearly cycle the main rice-growing period is the most important season, since that crop is crucial. During the rice-growing season the two all-important events are the planting and the harvest. Of the many rituals associated with planting and harvest, the *Innana* rituals are the most important. They get the rice-growing season underway. And of the *Innana* rituals, the *Apey* is the principal ritual as far as the rice crop is concerned.

Attribution Paragraph 54a, Quote Formula:

54a. Sachat alan nan paloki ya togpopancha isnan tapey
then.they,PART get FM paloki and spit.they NFM rice.wine

ay mangwanin,
LK say,QF

54a. Then they get a *paloki* plant and spit rice wine onto it, saying.

Attribution Paragraph 54b, Quotation:

54b. "Togpopak sik-a ay paloki ta mapigpikhipig nan pakhey,
spit.I you LK paloki so.that tall.and.straight FM rice

ta maikaskasiw isnan otot, faniyas, tilin ya isnan am-in ay
so.that free NFM rat lizard rice.bird and NFM all LK

mamakawas isnan payew ya isnan pakhey."
destroy NFM rice.field and NFM rice

54b. "I spit on you, *paloki*, so that the rice plants will grow tall, so that they will be free from rats, lizards, rice birds, and all that destroy the fields and the rice plants."

Attributive paragraph 78 heralds the onset of the *Tengaw* ritual. The *Tengaw* is a ritual holy day. It begins with a feast for the men in the morning, after which everyone disperses to rest. No one is allowed to enter or leave the village since to do so would weaken the *Tengaw* and jeopardize the rice crop. *Tengaw* days are held throughout the year, but are more frequent in the rice-growing season and before the sugarcane harvest.

Tengaw days are believed to support the crop in some way. If the *Tengaw* days are not broken by such activities as arrivals and departures from the village, then the rice plants will grow tall and straight. Rats will not attack the crop since the force of the *Tengaw* will prevent their emerging from their holes, lizards will be prevented from attacking the crop, rice birds will not come, and wild pigs and buffaloes will not rampage through the fields. In other words, if the *Tengaw* days are strictly observed, the prayer of attribution paragraph 54 will be empowered to come true.

Attribution paragraph 78 comes at the announcement of the *Tengaw* ritual (paraphrase paragraph 77-78):

Attribution Paragraph 78a, Quote Formula:

78a. Ifokhawchay
call.they,LK

78a. They shout,

Attribution Paragraph 78b, Quotation:

78b. "Is wakas et Tengaw."
at morrow CONJ Tengaw

78b. "Tomorrow is a *Tengaw* ritual rest day."

The third attribution paragraph, 89, is also important in real life, but not in the same way as are the previous two. It encodes an out-of-sequence event with powerful emotional overtones. The event it encodes, though it would rarely happen, is a sobering possibility which no Bontoc can afford to ignore, especially if he is tempted to be lazy and fail in his community and clan responsibilities:

Attribution Paragraph 89a, Quote Formula:

89a. Nan sikhab nan inwalakana et tellachencha tay
FM difficulty POSS contribute.time.his CONJ cut.off.they because

kananchan,
say.they,QF

89a. His difficulty at the time of contributing is this, they cut him from participating because they say,

Attribution Paragraph 89b, Quotation:

89b. "Ay ke lagwey ta aped kas makikikan olay mid
PART PART vegetables so.that just you,NFM eat.with even none

walakmo!"
contribution.your

89b. "Is it just vegetables that we are eating that you just join in eating, even if you have made no contribution!"

2.4.9 Summary of paragraph roles in the *Innana* text

Figure 15 summarizes the paragraph types and the ways in which the author has used them in the *Innana* text.

Coupling	: encode high-level potential procedural steps
Contrast	: contrast with high-level potential procedural steps
Temporal	: give alternate sequences of actions, embedded within procedural steps
Implication	: have an argumentative, persuasive role
Amplification	: may encode steps in procedure or small details of ritual
Negated-antonym	: encode procedural step in a not-so-important ritual
Preview	: low-level explanatory details
Illustration	: may encode steps in procedure or high-level explanation
Introduction	: downplays a potential step
Identification	: an important explanatory paragraph type, may encode step or pre-step
Attribution	: heightens vividness

Fig. 15. Summary of paragraph roles in the Innana text.

2.5 The structure of the *Innana* text

The *Innana* text is composed of a SETTING (sentences 1-5), an EXPLANATION (sentences 6-82), a CONCLUSION (sentences 83-89), and a CLOSURE (sentence 90).

Sentences	Discourse Structure	Embedded Discourses	
1-5	SETTING		
6-82	EXPLANATION	6	Setting
		7-26	The *Lifon* Ritual
			7 Title
			8 Embedded
			9-25 Procedural Discourse
		26	Transition/Closure
		27-44	The *Soyok* Ritual
			27 Title
			28 Embedded
			29-43 Procedural Discourse
		44	Transition/Closure
		45-49	The *Mangmang* Ritual
			45 Title
			46 Conjoining
			47-48 Paragraph
		49	Transition/Closure
		50-71	The *Apey* Ritual
			50 Title
			51 Embedded
			52-70 Procedural Discourse
		71	Transition/Closure
		72-81	The *Patay* Ritual and *Tengaw* Rituals
			72 Title
			73 Embedded
			74-80 Procedural Discourse
			81 Closure
		82	Closure
83-89	CONCLUSION		
90	CLOSURE		

Fig. 16. The structure of the Innana text

2.5.1 SETTING structure

The SETTING of the *Innana* text is encoded in a deictic paragraph containing embedded illustration, paraphrase, and deictic paragraphs.

Sentences	Paragraph Structure
1-5	SETTING: Deictic Paragraph
1	Text
2-5	Identification: Illustration Paragraph
2	Text
3-5	Illustration: Paraphrase Paragraph
3	Text
4-5	Amplification: Deictic Paragraph
4	Text
5	Identification

Fig. 17. The paragraph structure of the setting of the Innana text.

2.5.2 EXPLANATION structure

The EXPLANATION is an embedded procedural discourse consisting of a setting (sentence 6), five procedural steps (one for each ritual: sentences 7-26, sentences 27-44, sentences 45-49, sentences 50-71, sentences 72-81), and a closure (sentence 82). The last sentence of each of the five rituals acts both as closure for the ritual and, at a higher level, transition between the steps of the EXPLANATION embedded procedural discourse.

2.5.2.1 The SETTING of the *Innana* embedded procedural discourse

The SETTING of the *Innana* embedded procedural discourse is a single sentence (sentence 6) in which the author states his intention to fully explain the composition of the five *Innana* rituals, beginning with the first, the *Lifon* ritual.

2.5.2.2 The structure of the *Lifon* ritual

The *Lifon* ritual embedded procedural discourse consists of a title, one preparatory step, three steps, a terminus, and a closure.

Title. Each ritual in the *Innana* text (with the exception of the *Patay* ritual) is headed by a title. Within the text as a whole this is a major thematic segmenting device, dividing the text into subsections. On the section level, the title sets the theme for the following ritual. Each title is a single word: the name of the ritual.

Pre-step. A preparatory step is differentiated from a step on the grounds of verb morphology. The pre-step of the *Lifon* ritual is encoded as a deictic paragraph.

Steps 1-3. The three steps are encoded as paraphrase, deictic, and illustration paragraphs respectively. Each of these paragraphs contains further explanatory embedding.

Terminus. The terminus of the *Lifon* procedure is both semantically and syntactically related to the thesis of the embedded conjoining paragraph (sentence 11) of step 1. The preview of the embedded paraphrase paragraph that expounds the text of the conjoining paragraph that is the terminus, is in fact an equivalence paraphrase of sentence 11. The terminus is really an explanatory paragraph expounding the details of what happened in sentence 11. Perhaps the author's reason for transposing this material

was that this meat is used in later rituals, so the explanation is physically transposed to occur after the steps of the ritual being outlined.

It has been noted (sec. 2.5.2) that the closure sentence of each ritual also acts as a transition to the next ritual. The *Lifon* closure sentence has an active predicate with a prenuclear time clause followed

Sentence	Paragraph Structure
7-26	The *Lifon* Ritual: Embedded Procedural Discourse
7	Title
8-9	Pre-step Deictic Paragraph
8	Text
9	Identification
10-13	Step 1: Paraphrase Paragraph
10	Text
11-13	Amplification: Conjoining Paragraph
11	Thesis
12-13	Contrast: Paraphrase Paragraph
12	Text
13	Amplification
14-16	Step 2: Deictic Paragraph
14	Text
15-16	Identification: Conjoining Paragraph
15	Text
16	Contrast
17-19	Step 3: Illustration Paragraph
17	Text
18-19	Exemplification: Deictic Paragraph
18	Text
19	Identification
20-25	Terminus: Conjoining Paragraph
20-24	Thesis: Paraphrase Paragraph
20	Preview
21	Item 1
22	Item 2
23	Item 3
24	Item 4
25	Contrast
26	Closure

Fig. 18. Structure of the Lifon ritual embedded procedural discourse.

by a sequential marker. This dual occurrence of two dynamism-heightening devices on the *Lifon* closure is understood to be spotlighting its role as transition for the higher-level procedural discourse.

2.5.2.3 The structure of the *Soyok* ritual

The *Soyok* ritual embedded procedural discourse consists of a title, an explanatory setting, three preparatory steps, two steps, and a closure.

Sentence	Paragraph Structure
27-44	The *Soyok* Ritual: Embedded Procedural Discourse
27	Title
28-30	Setting: Illustration Paragraph
28	Text
29-30	Exemplification: Paraphrase Paragraph
29	Text
30	Amplification
31-32	Pre-step 1: Deictic Paragraph
31	Text
32	Identification
33	Surrogate Pre-step 2: Contingency Step
34	Pre-step 3
35	Step 1
36-43	Step 2 Paraphrase Paragraph
36	Text
37-43	Amplification: Temporal Paragraph
37-38	Build-up 1: Temporal Paragraph
37	Co-terminus 1
38	Co-terminus 2
39	Build-up 2
40-43	Build-up 3: Conjoining Paragraph
40	Item 1
41	Item 2
42-43	Item 3: Paraphrase Paragraph
42	Text
43	Amplification
44	Closure

Fig. 19. Structure of the Soyok ritual embedded procedural discourse.

Title. The title of the *Soyok* ritual sets the theme for the following section.

Setting. The explanatory setting orients the reader by first drawing a comparison between the *Soyok* ritual and the already described *Lifon* ritual. This is followed immediately by a contrast between the two. The effect of this comparison/contrast is to produce a frame for the *Soyok* ritual in the light of the

Lifon. Having done that, the author goes on to give a different explanation, which, had it been given in the *Lifon*, would have made that description cumbersome. The setting is encoded in an illustration paragraph with an embedded paraphrase paragraph.

Pre-steps 1-3. The first preparatory step is encoded in a deictic paragraph, but pre-steps 2 and 3 are both expounded by single sentences. Pre-step 2 is a contingency step (if the pig is too big, the excess is compensated for), dependent on the size of an item in the second step in the real-world sequence. In the real world, the second step is to catch the pig, an action implied in each of sentences 31, 32, and 33, but nowhere encoded as a full step in the procedure. This is why sentence 33 is treated as a surrogate pre-step. We are never told that they catch the pig; instead, we are given a coterminous replacement, and this contingent step is encoded with pre-step status by its verb morphology instead of the real-world pre-step 2.

Steps 1 and 2. Step 1 of the *Soyok* ritual embedded procedural discourse is encoded as a single sentence, while step 2 is a paraphrase paragraph with three further layers of embedding. This embedding rhetorically underlines the importance of step 2, which is perhaps the first occasion when a clan has gathered in the last twelve months.

Closure. The closure sentence has an equative predicate with a double prenuclear time frame. This closure is less dynamic than that at the end of the *Lifon*. The closure at the end of the next ritual, the *Mangmang*, is even less dynamic. This decrease in dynamism is a redundancy-reducing device. Once the regular transition from one ritual to another is established, then its presence needs merely to be acknowledged and not unduly emphasized.

2.5.2.4 The structure of the *Mangmang* ritual

In contrast to previous rituals, the *Mangmang* is not an embedded procedural discourse. It is an embedded expository discourse, consisting of a title, an explanation, and a closure (see fig. 20). The title gives the name of the ritual: the *Mangmang*. The explanation consists of a conjoining paragraph with an embedded contrast paragraph.

Sentences	Paragraph Structure
45-49	The *Mangmang* Ritual
45	Title
46-48	Explanation: Conjoining Paragraph
46	Item 1
47-48	Item 2: Conjoining Paragraph
47	Text
48	Contrast
49	Closure

Fig. 20. Structure of the Mangmang ritual embedded expository discourse.

2.5.2.5 The structure of the *Apey* ritual

The *Apey* ritual embedded procedural discourse consists of a title, action setting, nine steps, one surrogate step, and a closure (fig. 21).

Title. The title is *Apey*, the central ritual of the *Innana*.

Action setting. The action setting of the *Apey* ritual contains, at first glance, two potential steps of the procedural discourse. However, the author has chosen to downgrade these by removing temporal sequence and adding an adverb, *akhes* 'also', to sentence 52. The action setting is encoded as a conjoining paragraph.

Sentences	Paragraph Structure
50-71	The *Apey* Ritual: Embedded Procedural Discourse
50	Title
51-52	Action Setting: Conjoining Paragraph
51	Item 1
52	Item 2
53	Step 1
54	Step 2: Attribution Paragraph
55	Step 3
56	Step 4
57-59	Step 5: Illustration Paragraph
57	Text
58-59	Exemplification: Paraphrase Paragraph
58	Text
59	Amplification
60-62	Surrogate Step 4: Paraphrase Paragraph
60	Text
61-62	Amplification: Temporal Paragraph
61	Build-up 1
62	Build-up 2
63-67	Step 6: Deictic Paragraph
63	Text
64-67	Predication: Deictic Paragraph
64	Text
65-67	Identification: Paraphrase Paragraph
65	Preview
66	Item 1
67	Item 2
68	Step 7
69	Step 8
70	Step 9
71	Closure

Fig. 21. Structure of the Apey ritual embedded procedural discourse.

Steps 1-9. The first four steps of the procedural discourse are single sentences (though one has an embedded attribution paragraph), as are the last three steps. Step 5 is an illustration paragraph with an embedded paraphrase paragraph. Surrogate step 4 is a paraphrase paragraph with an embedded temporal paragraph. It is contingent on a rice field having its own source of water supply, in which case a new series of embedded procedures is mandatory. Step 6 is a deictic paragraph with embedded deictic and paraphrase paragraphs.

Closure. As at the end of the *Mangmang* ritual, the closure of the *Apey* is basically a transition, with no back-reference to the *Apey* ritual.

2.5.2.6 The structure of the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals

The *Tengaw* ritual embedded procedural discourse consists of a title, a preparatory step, two steps and a closure.

Sentences	Paragraph Structure
72-81	The *Patay* and *Tengaw* Rituals: Embedded Procedural Discourse
72	Title
73-76	Pre-step: Deictic Paragraph
73-74	Text: Paraphrase Paragraph
73	Text
74	Amplification
75-76	Identification: Illustration Paragraph
75	Text
76	Exemplification
77-78	Step 1: Paraphrase Paragraph
77	Text
78	Amplification: Attribution Paragraph
79-80	Step 2: Paraphrase Paragraph
79	Text
80	Negated-antonym
81	Closure

Fig. 22. Structure of the Patay and Tengaw rituals embedded discourse.

This section of the *Innana* text includes two rituals, the *Patay* and the *Tengaw*. On the grounds of relative significance the *Patay* ritual is suppressed and encoded as a preparatory step of the *Tengaw* ritual.

Title. The title thematizes only the *Tengaw* ritual, reinforcing the subsidiary role of the *Patay* ritual.

Pre-step. The preparatory step is a deictic paragraph including within it two events related to each other in an explanatory paragraph rather than in a coterminous temporal fashion. The first event is encoded in a paraphrase paragraph, the second as an illustration paragraph, identifying how the pig, a participant of the first event, is paid for. This pre-step gives but the briefest sketch of what is involved in the *Patay* ritual.

Steps 1 and 2. Each step of the *Tengaw* ritual is encoded as a paraphrase paragraph. The first announces the advent of the rest day with no indication given either of the actual events or the forbidden ones.

Closure. The closure sentence of the *Tengaw* ritual returns Bontoc life to its normal pattern, where, so long as the omens confirm that the *Innana* rituals are satisfactorily completed, the people carry on with their everyday field work.

2.5.2.7 Closure

Sentence 82 is the closure of the EXPLANATION embedded procedural discourse (see fig. 16). It includes back-reference to the *Tengaw* and states that this ritual completes the *Innana* ritual complex. It has in its independent clause an equative predicate.

2.5.3 CONCLUSION structure

The CONCLUSION of the *Innana* text is a trinary deictic paragraph. The second identification of this paragraph contains the persuasive force of the paragraph. This is encoded in a series of alternating embedded implication and illustration paragraphs, climaxed by an embedded attribution paragraph.

Sentences	Paragraph Structure
83-89	CONCLUSION of *Innana* text: Deictic Paragraph
83	Text
84	Identification 1
85-89	Identification 2: Implication Paragraph
85	Text
86-89	Warning: Illustration Paragraph
86	Text
87-89	Exemplification: Implication Paragraph
87	Circumstances
88-89	Result: Illustration Paragraph
88	Text
89	Exemplification: Attribution Paragraph

Fig. 23. The structure of the CONCLUSION of the Innana text.

2.5.4 The CLOSURE of the *Innana* text

The CLOSURE of the *Innana* discourse (sentence 90—see fig. 16) is a simple equative clause, which serves both to close the text and to cap off the most explicit feature of the focal content (see sec. 1.3.4). In this sentence the author claims, "Those are the true details of the *Innana* rituals."

2.5.5 Coherence and cohesion

A paragraph analysis of the *Innana* text illustrates three aspects of the coherence/cohesion of the discourse. The first of these has to do with the systematic use an author makes of the range of paragraph types available in a language to control tension, to contrast ideas, to emphasize or de-emphasize, to identify, to make more vivid, etc. If it is true that each discourse type has its own characteristic semantic structure, for example, setting, complication, climax, and resolution for narrative, then the ways in which the various paragraph types are used is one aspect of the coherence of a text.

The second aspect of discourse coherence that is illustrated by a paragraph analysis is the text structure itself. The overall structure of the *Innana* text has been shown diagrammatically in figure 16.

The third aspect of discourse coherence that is illustrated by a paragraph analysis is conjunction, (Halliday and Hasan 1976:226-27).

As more and more linguists are turning their attention to textlinguistics, they are having to come to terms with language patterns at the paragraph and discourse level. However, there are still textlinguists who deny that discourse has a grammatical structure above the sentence level, while at the same time recognizing that on the macro-level, discourses have global organization, for example, Halliday and Hasan (1976:1-2):

> A text is a unit of language in use. It is not a grammatical unit, like a clause or sentence.... A text is sometimes envisaged to be ... a grammatical unit ... but this is misleading.... A text ... differs from a sentence in kind. A text is best regarded as a semantic unit: a unit not of form but of meaning. A text does not consist of sentences; it is realized by, or encoded in, sentences. If we understand it in this way, we shall not expect to find the same kind of structural integration among the parts of a text as we find among the parts of a sentence or clause.

Yet the same authors (1976:10)

> do not rule out the possibility of setting up discourse structures, and specifying the structure of some entity such as a paragraph or topic unit. It is clear that there is structure here, at least in certain genres or registers of discourse. But it is doubtful whether it is possible to demonstrate generalized structural relationships into which sentences enter as the realization of functions in some higher unit, as can be done for all units below the sentence.

In other words, even though Halliday and Hasan deny hierarchical structure above the sentence level, they do recognize the global structural differences that are normal between genres. They refer to (ibid., 326-27)

> the larger structure that is a property of the forms of discourse themselves: the structure that is inherent in such concepts as narrative, prayer, folk-ballad, formal correspondence, sonnet, operating instructions, television drama and the like.... It is safe to say that every genre has its own discourse structure.

But many other linguists are now speaking of hierarchically arranged grammatical structure in discourse. For example, Longacre (1979:115) assumes:

> (a) that discourse has GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE; and (b) that the structure is partially expressed in the hierarchical breakdown of discourse into constituent embedded discourse and paragraphs and in the breakdown of paragraphs into constituent embedded paragraphs and sentences, not to speak of further hierarchical parcelling out into clauses, phrases, and word structures.

Similar points of view have been expressed by many others. See, for example, Agar and Hobbs (1982:3); Hinds (1979:135-36); Goelman (1982:55); and Meyer (1975, referred to in van Dijk and Kintsch 1978:64-65).

If grammatical structure and hierarchical organization are indeed appropriate terms to apply to text, then the structure displayed in section 2.5 is one aspect of the coherence of the *Innana* text. To illustrate this, I finish with a quote from Halliday and Hasan (1976:6-7):

> Structure is, of course, a unifying relation. The parts of a sentence or a clause obviously "cohere" with each other by virtue of the structure. Hence they also display texture: the elements of *any structure* have, by definition, an internal unity which ensures that they all express part of a text.... In general, *any unit which is structural* hangs together to form text. *All grammatical units*—sentences, clauses, groups, words—are internally "cohesive" simply because they are structural.... Structure is one means of expressing texture.

Chapter 3

Spectrum, transitivity, and profile

It has long been recognized that within a narrative discourse there are various types of information. Grimes (1975:82-99) distinguished five types: setting, background, collateral, performative, and events.

A less delicate division of narrative recognizes the difference between foreground and background:

> Narrative ... is composed of two kinds of structures: temporal structure, which charts the progress of the narrative through time by presenting a series of events which are understood to occur sequentially; and durative/descriptive structure which provides a spatial, characterological, and durational context for which the temporal structure marks time and changes of state (Polanyi 1976:81, quoted by Hopper and Thompson 1980:280).

In narrative, foregrounded events form the backbone (the basic event-line) of the text; the backgrounded material is explanatory, giving settings, psychological states of participants, relationships between the author and hearer/reader, comments by the author about what is happening, and events that did not happen, but could have. All this explanatory material serves to flesh out the backbone of the story. But how does a hearer/reader disambiguate foreground and background?

> Numerous languages ... have morphological and syntactic devices which reflect grounding (i.e., background vs. foreground). These devices range from discourse particles, placed at crucial points to warn the listener that the current or following clause is foregrounded, to the elaboration of verbal paradigms (tense-aspect) specialized for this distinction (Hopper and Thompson 1980:281).

Jones and Jones (1979) take this two-way division much further and suggest a multiple-levels hypothesis. In working with a number of languages in Central America they formally distinguished six grammatically marked levels of information in narrative:

PEAK:	the single most significant event or event sequence
PIVOTAL EVENTS:	very significant events
BACKBONE EVENTS:	significant events
ORDINARY EVENTS	
SIGNIFICANT BACKGROUND:	especially significant background information
ORDINARY BACKGROUND:	normal background information

Central American languages that distinguish these multiple levels of information do so on the one hand by means of verb aspect (e.g., backbone events marked by the use of completive aspect on verbs, and background information by the use of aspects other than completive, such as habitual, potential, and stative aspects), and on the other hand by particles, clause types, mode, and so forth (Jones and Jones 1979:8-12).

Longacre (1981:337-59) compares the range of information within a narrative text, starting at one extreme with the most dynamic elements of the story (the events/pivotal events) and moving to the less dynamic (background/explanatory material), to a spectrographic analysis of white light, which produces a range of color from red to violet. He proposes an "information cline" (ibid., 340-41) with successive positions along the cline correlating with distinctions among the verb forms of the language (i.e., with the tense/aspect/mode/voice system). He suggests drawing a cline of a text first and then drawing a profile of it, plotting the shape of the text according to its dynamic level on the cline.

In chapter 3 we will look at spectrum as defined by Longacre, but also using insights from Hopper and Thompson, and apply the notion of spectrum to the *Innana* text. Then using a modified form of Hopper and Thompson's transitivity criteria, we will draw profiles of each section of the *Innana* text from both spectrum and transitivity perspectives.

3.1 Spectrum

To apply Longacre's insights about relative dynamicity and the role of tense/aspect in foregrounding and backgrounding to the *Innana* text, we first need to recognize that this discourse contains material from two different discourse genres, expository and procedural. The SETTING and CONCLUSION of the *Innana* are expository, while the EXPLANATION is mainly procedural.

3.1.1 Clause analysis of the EXPLANATION of the *Innana* text

About one third of the independent clauses in the EXPLANATION segment of the *Innana* text are either equative (24 clauses) or existential (3 clauses). The rest (58 clauses) have verbal predicates.

Of the dependent clauses, 12 are equative, and 22 are embedded clauses with verbal predicates. Again, the verbal predicates outweigh the equatives almost two to one.

Since the *Innana* EXPLANATION deals with real-life activities, this preponderance of verbal predicates is to be expected.

But now, when we look at the verbal predicates, another two-way division is very obvious. About one fourth of all the predicates of verbal independent clauses are stative. There are 15 independent clauses

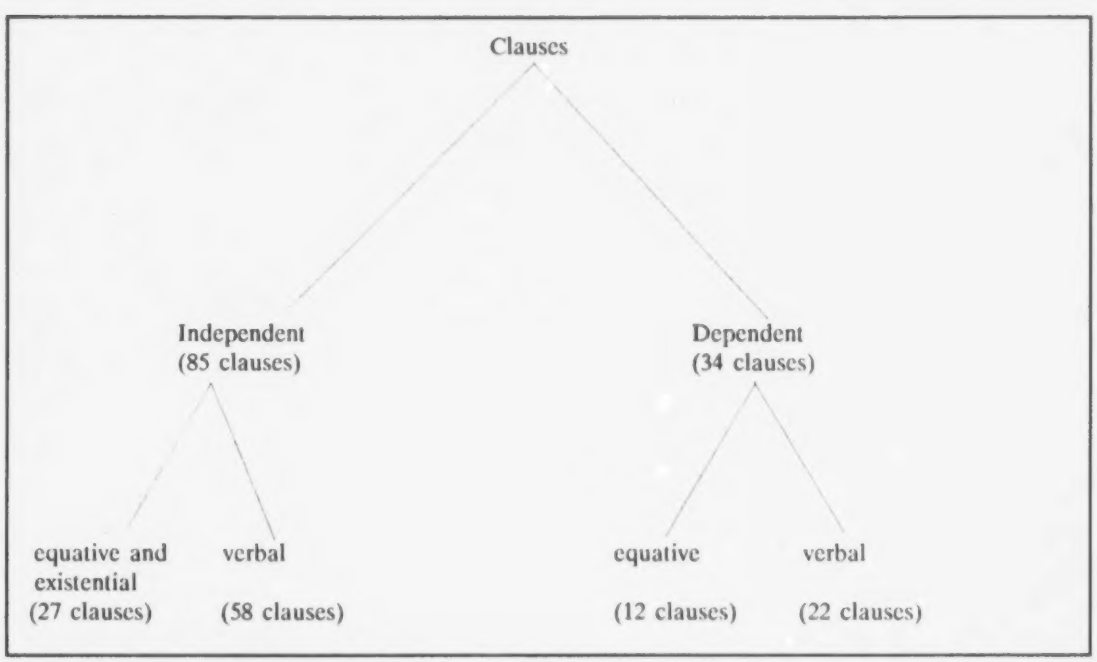

Fig. 24. Clause types in the EXPLANATION of the Innana text.

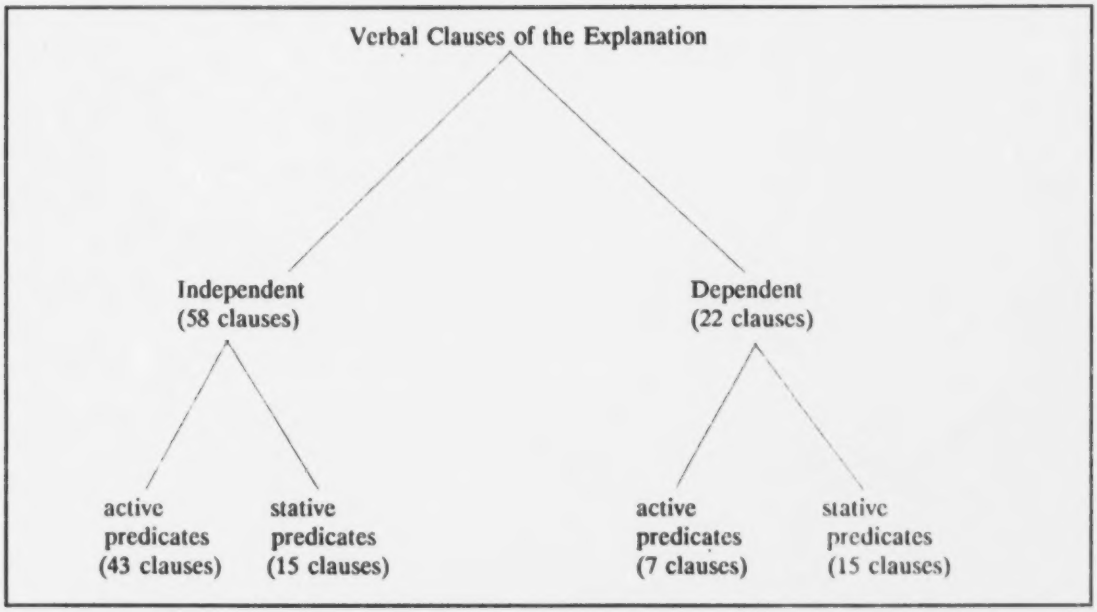

Fig. 25. Active versus stative predicates in independent and dependent clauses of the EXPLANATION *of the Innana text.*

with stative predicates as opposed to 43 with active predicates. In the dependent clauses this situation is reversed: 15 are stative while only seven are active.

According to the modified version of Hopper and Thompson's transitivity criteria discussed in section 3.2, stative predicates are regularly several points lower on the transitivity scale than their active counterpart would be. And according to Longacre's more dynamic/less dynamic cline, independent clauses with active predicates are higher on the cline than those with stative predicates. This gives us a rudimentary spectrum for procedural discourse (fig. 26).

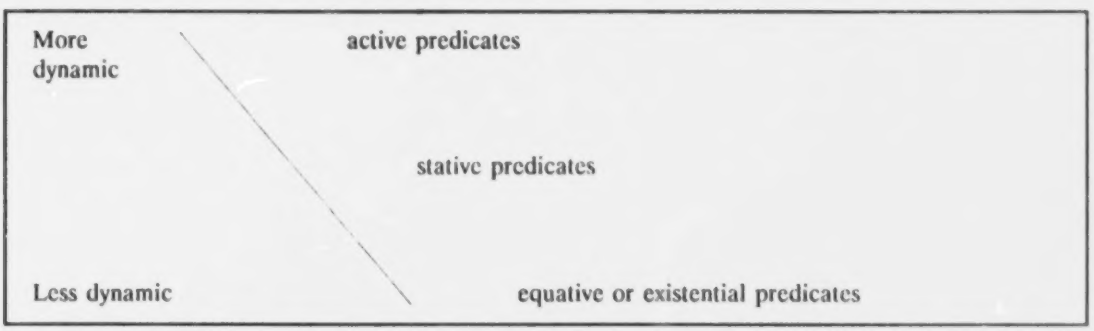

Fig. 26. A basic procedural spectrum.

3.1.2 Active predicates

There are two kinds of active predicates in the EXPLANATION of the *Innana* text: those in independent clauses and those in dependent clauses. When the author puts an active verb into a dependent clause he is in some way demoting the predicate to a less dynamic role in the procedure. For example, in sentence 53, 'they go to the rice fields to do the *Apey* ritual' is made less dynamic by being converted into a time setting for the activity that follows:

53. Mo omey cha iska payewcha ay mangapey chentancha nan
when go they LOC rice.field.their LK do.Apey kindle.they FM

iyapeycha.
for.Apey.their

53. **When they go to their rice fields to do the *Apey* ritual,** they kindle fire to cook the meat for the *Apey* ritual.

There are three types of active verbs in independent clauses: reduplicated active verbs; group-action active verbs; and nonreduplicated non-group-action active verbs.

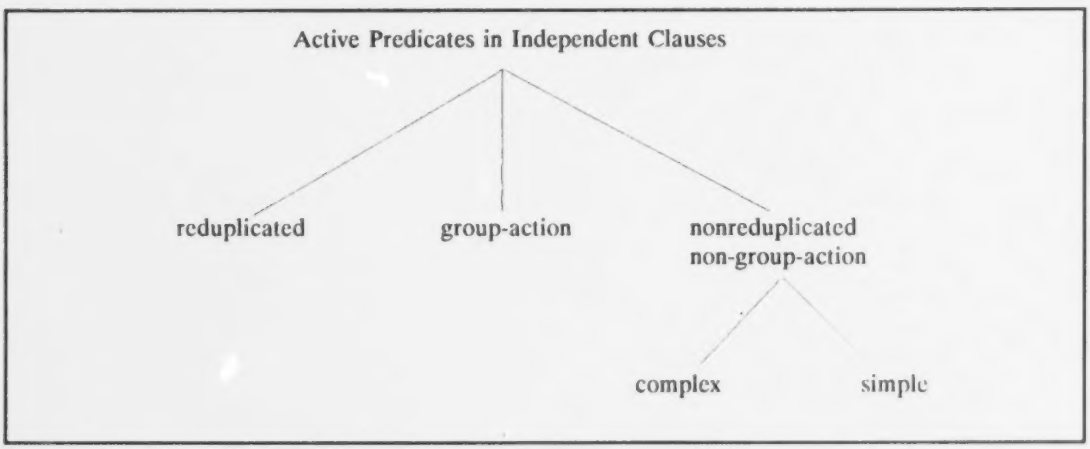

Fig. 27. Active predicates in independent clauses in the Innana text.

3.1.2.1 Reduplicated active verbs in independent clauses

In Bontoc narrative discourse, reduplicated verbs, which signal repeated or durative action, are frequently used as action settings for narrative events. This accords with Hopper and Thompson's observations (1980:286):

> Punctual verbs contrast with durative verbs, in which internal complexity is possible under normal interpretation, and with iterative verbs—which are also internally complex, in that there is repetition of identical punctual actions. Punctual verbs are more likely to denote events of the discourse, and to occur in foregrounding.

Sentence 38 has an example of reduplication: *mangay-ayeng* 'to sing and sing the *ayyeng* song'.

*38. Isnan timpo ay cha maoto nan watwat, **mangay-ayyeng** nan*
NFM time LK CONT cook FM meat sing.ayyeng FM

amam-a.
old.manPL

38. While the meat is cooking, the old men **sing the *ayyeng* song.**

Sentence 57 also has a reduplicated verb: *iyat-atonchana* 'they transfer and transfer it'.

*57. **Iyat-atoncha** na isnan kapayepayewcha.*
transfer.they it NFM LOC,rice.field,PL,their

57. **They transfer it** to each of their fields, doing the same thing.

3.1.2.2 Group-action active verbs in independent clauses

The Bontoc verb affix *maki-* denotes group action. Many of the actions of the *Innana* procedures are group actions, but are not encoded as such with this affix. In their discussion of volitionality and agency, Hopper and Thompson (1980:286) note:

> These two factors concern the degree of planned involvement of an (Agent) in the activity of the verb.... The prominence of the properties of Agency and Volitionality in the foregrounding derives from the fact that story lines are typically advanced by people who perform actions, and especially by people who deliberately initiate events.

Whether or not group-action verbs in Bontoc have higher or lower dynamicity than reduplicated verbs in procedural discourse is not clear at this stage. In Bontoc narrative, group-action verbs do occur on the event-line, whereas reduplicated verbs seem to be relegated to settings. More work is needed on a wide corpus of texts before any definitive statement can be made. Sentence 16 illustrates a group-action predicate; *makifingit* means literally 'to join in receiving'. Note that this verb has a permissive modal adjunct *mafalin* 'possible'.

16. Nay met achi, mafalin ay ***makifingit*** *nan ib-a ay*
this PART PART possible LK share.with FM friend,PL LK

poposi.
poor.person,PL

16. But poor friends can also **be given a share**.

3.1.2.3 Nonreduplicated non-group-action verbs in independent clauses

The majority of active predicates in the *Innana* text are nonreduplicated non-group-action verbs. There are two types: complex active predicates and simple active predicates (see fig. 27).

Complex active predicates:

Each of the three complex verbs in the *Innana* text expresses intention-to-do. Hopper and Thompson deal with such verbs under the headings of affirmation and mode. Transitivity is downgraded when a verb expresses an action that is negated, noncompletive, nonreal, contingent, or did not occur (1980:287):

> The fact that negative clauses are rare in foregrounding follows from the fact that events which are narrated are asserted; negation is a digression into a possible but nonreal world. Mode covers the distinction of 'indicative' (i.e., finite realis) verb forms vs. the other 'moods' of traditional grammar, e.g., subjunctive and optative. The correlation between indicative and foregrounding in our samples was absolute, and it is hard to see how it could be otherwise.

Hopper and Thompson define *indicative* as "finite realis" for narrative. But in our procedural discourse the active verbs are almost all irrealis, that is, noncompletive aspect. (This accords with Reid's findings for both procedural and activity discourse—Reid 1970, 1971.) Hopper and Thompson's principle of classifying verbs according to mood is also valid for procedural text. In our analysis we rate the three independent clauses with complex verbs denoting intentional mood as less dynamic than those with simple active verbal predicates. For example, in sentence 51, *omala ... is iyapey* 'get ... to do the *Apey* ritual' is a discontinuous complex verb phrase:

51. ***Omala*** *cha issan inasinancha ay pasingcha paymo finingitcha*
get they NFM salt.their LK share.their or distribute.their

issan Lifon paymo issan Soyok ***is iyapeycha.***
NFM Lifon or NFM Soyok NFM do.Apey.they

51. They **get** their (uncooked) share that they have salted or their distributed share from the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, **to do the *Apey*** ritual.

Sentence 68 also has a discontinuous complex verb phrase, *en ... mangachiw* 'go to catch fish':

68. Isnan kawaksana ***encha mangachiw.***
NFM tomorrow.time.its go.they catch.fish

68. On the morrow **they go to catch fish**.

Simple active predicates:

The vast majority of active verbs in the *Innana* text have simple noncompletive predicates. Usually these occur in independent clauses with one independent clause per sentence. However, in some instances several independent clauses in a coordinate relationship combine into one sentence—always at a peak

(defined by other criteria) within the discourse. For example, in sentence 10, which encodes step 1 of the *Lifon* ritual, two independent clauses are coordinated. In this sentence, the first independent clause has a complex predicate, the second a simple predicate. These are both preceded by a dependent time clause:

*10. Mo nakhaeb nan totyacha, **enchat** **alaen** nan*
if made FM discussion.their go.they,PART get FM
*ilifoncha et **khekhechencha** isnan afob-ong nan chey ninkwa*
for.Lifon.their CONJ divide.they NFM house,PL POSS those owner
isnan fotog ay milifon
POSS pig LK for.Lifon

10. When they have reached a decision, they will **go to get** what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual, and they **will cut** it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual.

Another example is sentence 54, which occurs in the peak of the *Apey* ritual as step 2 of the ritual. The first independent clause here has a simple predicate, the second a complex:

*54a. Sachat **alan** nan paloki ya **togpopancha** isnan tapey*
then.they,PART get FM paloki and spit.they NFM rice.wine
*ay **mangwanin**,*
LK say,QF

54a. Then they **get** a *paloki* plant and **spit** rice wine onto it, **saying**,

54b. "Togpopak sik-a ay paloki ta mapigpikhipig nan pakhey,
spit.I you LK paloki so.that tall.and.straight FM rice
ta maikaskasiw isnan otot, faniyas, tilin ya isnan am-in ay
so.that free NFM rat lizard rice.bird and NFM all LK
mamakawas isnan payew ya isnan pakhey."
destroy NFM rice.field and NFM rice

54b. "I spit on you, *paloki*, so that the rice plants will grow tall, so that they will be free from rats, lizards, rice birds, and all that destroy the fields and the rice plants."

3.1.2.4 A spectrum for active predicates in independent clauses

Based on sections 3.1.2.1, 3.1.2.2, and 3.1.2.3, the spectrum in figure 28 for the four types of active predicates can be drawn.

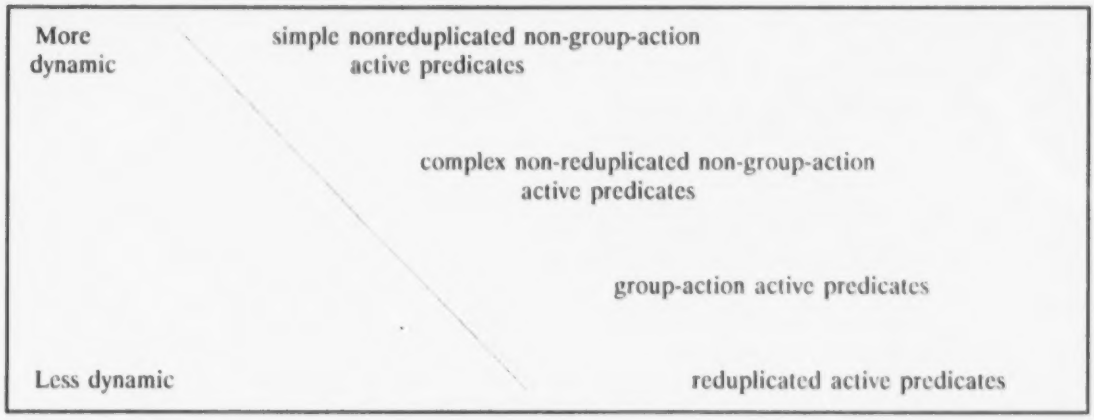

Fig. 28. A spectrum for active predicates in independent clauses.

It should be pointed out that some active verbs do not act as steps in embedded procedures. They are "exceptions." For instance, in each ritual there are active verbs that have high transitivity values but are not procedural steps. In sentence 29 the active predicate *in-ala* 'take' has a very high transitivity level, but it is not a step in the *Soyok* ritual:

*29. **In-ala** chas fotog magtek nan Soyok kwan si*
get they,NFM pig but FM Soyok belong POSS
katakhotakho.
total.population

29. They **butcher** pigs, but the *Soyok* ritual is for all the people.

Again, the active predicates *faikhen* 'beat', *lakhiman* 'burn', *sepwaken* 'section', and *otowen* 'cook' in sentences 61 and 62 have high transitivity levels but are not steps in the *Apey* ritual:

*61. **Faikhen**cha sachat **lakhiman** ya sepwaken nan manok.*
beat.they then.they,PART burn and section FM chicken

61. They **kill** the chicken, then **burn** the feathers and **butcher** it.

*62. **Otowen**cha, magtek kecheng nan fili ya nan potona nan*
cook.they but only FM gizzard and FM intestine.its FM
sibfancha id ilit.
viand.their at outside

62. They **cook** it, but it is only the gizzard and its intestines that they eat outside the village.

Likewise, the active predicate *tomke* 'stop' in sentence 39, which has a low transitivity level, is not a step in the *Soyok* ritual:

*39. Mo mangancha **tomke** nan ayyeng.*
when eat.they stop FM ayyeng

39. When they eat, they **stop** singing the *ayyeng* song.

On the one hand, each of these actions is out of sequence, alerting us to the possibility that they are not event-line predicates as far as procedural discourse goes. But the major factor that disqualifies all of these active verbs from being on the event-line of the embedded procedures is that they are all hierarchically subordinated to high-level predicates. In other words, since sentences 61, 62, and 39, which have active predicates, are each subordinated to procedural steps occurring at the highest level of the hierarchical structure of paragraphs, they are understood to be background explanation for the procedural steps. So the rules for deciding their dynamic value are those of expository discourse, not procedural. As Longacre has said (1981:347):

> Maybe the spectrum of dynamism constructed for narrative is of relevance everywhere, and other discourse types simply implement different parts of the same scheme. Thus, description (expository discourse) typically implements forms from the lower parts of the spectrum.

In other words, active verbs, which are the grammatical forms most dynamic in narrative, may be least dynamic in expository discourse.

Now we come to another exception, sentence 20, which has a highly transitive active predicate in its independent clause and is at the highest level of the hierarchical structure in that it is the preview of a preview paragraph (the text of a conjoining paragraph). The question we need to ask here is, Do these factors qualify sentence 20 to be a step in the *Lifon* ritual? Sentence 20, like sentences 39, 61, and 62 previously discussed, is an out-of-sequence proposition. It is also an equivalence paraphrase of sentence 11. On these two grounds we interpret sentence 20, even though it is at the highest level of the hierarchy, as simply an explanatory-paragraph-introducing-device rather than as a step in the procedure. As part of an explanatory paragraph, then, it has a lower dynamic level than the rest of the explanatory paragraph 20-24:

*20. Nan maala, **fingiten** nan takho.*
FM take share FM person

20. The people **receive** shares of meat.

21. Nan fala, siya nan enkwan nan ongang-a ay lalalaki.
FM lungs it FM belong POSS child,PL LK male,PL

21. The lungs belong to the boys.

22. Nan sofod, enkwan nan amam-a.
FM belly belong POSS old.man,PL

22. The stomach skin is for the old men.

23. Nan falong-a paymo ipos, enkwan nan pangolo paymo nan
FM tail.plus or tail belong POSS leader or POSS
inkhekhed.
divider,PL

23. The tail plus its root or the tail alone, belongs to the leaders or to the ones who do the butchering.

24. Nan tete ya nan palagpag enkwan nan inasaw-an paymo
FM withers and FM ribs belong POSS just.married or
nan fabfafallo.
POSS young.man,PL

24. The ridge between the shoulder bones and the ribs are for newly married men or for the young men.

Sentence 29 is also different. It is embedded within an illustration paragraph and is subordinate to the text, which is equational. In other words, sentence 29 with its active predicate is less dynamic, since it operates within an explanatory paragraph, than sentence 28 with its equative predicate:

28. Nan Soyok kaagna nan Lifon.
FM Soyok like.it FM Lifon

28. The *Soyok* ritual is similar to the *Lifon* ritual.

*29. **In-ala** chas fotog magtek nan Soyok kwan si*
get they,NFM pig but FM Soyok belong POSS
katakhotakho.
total.population

29. They **butcher** pigs, but the *Soyok* ritual is for all the people.

What we are saying here is that if an active predicate is subordinated to other predicates within a paragraph, it is already disqualified from being a step in a procedural discourse. That is, steps in the procedure must not be embedded.

3.1.2.5 Dynamism-heightening and -lowering devices

As mentioned before, in a number of Central American languages several different layers in narrative discourse are grammatically indicated. They range from peak, which is the single most important event or event sequence in the text, down to ordinary background information. The author of the *Innana* text does the same thing through his choice of predicate and clause type and through a series of dynamism-heightening and -lowering devices. The following are dynamism-heightening devices found in the *Innana* text:

Two or more independent clauses coordinated into one sentence (sentences 10, 54, 55, and 61).

A prenuclear time clause (sentences 10, 26, 39, 53, and 63).

A sequence particle combination, *saet* 'then' (sentences 26, 35, 54, 55, and 61).

A prenuclear time phrase (sentences 38, 68, 69, 70, 77, 79).

The following are dynamism-lowering devices found in the *Innana* text:

By making a verb complex, thus less definite (sentences 51 and 68).

By group-action affixation (sentence 16).

By reduplication (sentences 38 and 57).

By adding a subjunctive adjunct or margin to the independent clause.

Sentence 56 is an example of dynamism-lowering by means of adding a subjunctive adjunct, in this case *yangkhay* 'only':

56. Kelnatencha ***yangkhay*** *nan inasin ay iyapeycha.*
warm.they only FM salted.meat LK do.Apey.they

56. They **just** heat the salted meat which they use for the *Apey* ritual.

Again, sentence 60 is less dynamic because of a subjunctive margin on the independent clause:

60. ***Mo eb-eb*** *nan* ***payew*** *ay* ***apeyancha*** *et iyapeycha nan*
if spring FM rice.field LK do.Apey.they CONJ do.Apey.they FM

manok.
chicken

60. **If the rice field for which they are doing the *Apey* ritual has its own spring**, they use a chicken for the ritual.

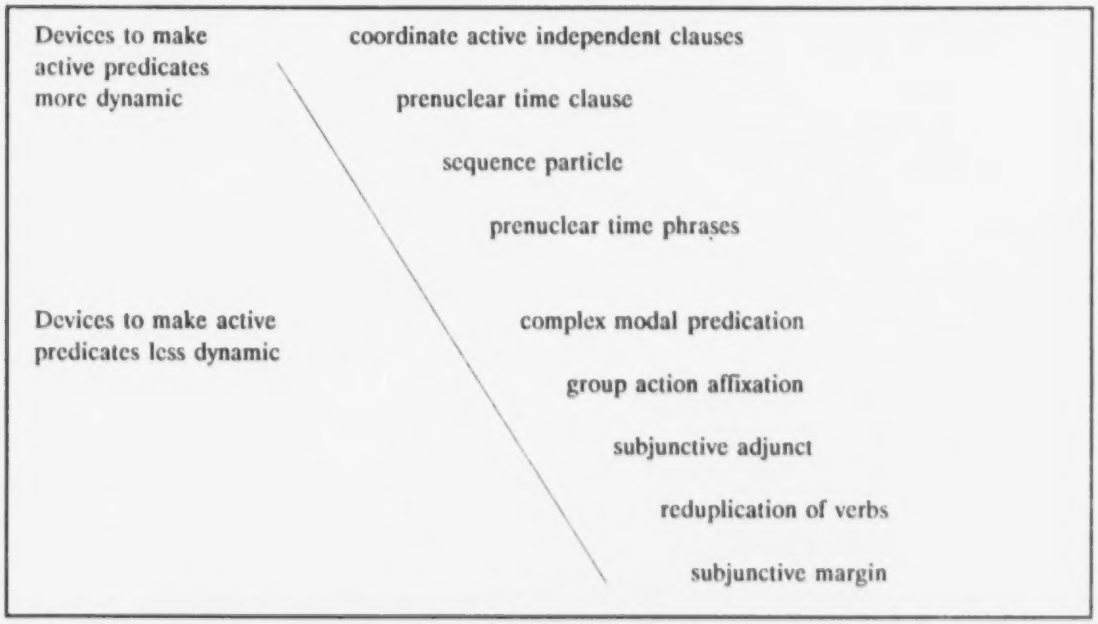

Fig. 29. Devices to heighten or lower dynamism of active predicates.

3.1.2.6 Active predicates not in independent clauses

There are four kinds of active predicates in the EXPLANATION of the *Innana* text that are not in independent clauses:

(1) In quotations (sentence 54).

(2) In dependent clauses (sentences 33, 39, 53, 60, 63).

(3) Nominalized (sentences 9, 10, 15, 19, 23, 24, 25, 31, 48, 51, 53, 56, 58, 63).

(4) In dependent clauses embedded in nominal constructions (sentences 41, 56, 60, 63).

Active predicates in quotations:

Sentence 54 illustrates an active predicate in a quotation. The verb in 54a is reiterated in the independent clause of 54b. The active predicate of 54b is made even more vivid by being vocative. It is not a procedural step, but rather a paraphrase of part of the procedural step. In other words, *togpopak* 'I spit on' is a reiteration of the procedural step found in 54a.

54a. Sachat alan nan paloki ya togpopancha isnan tapey
then.they,PART get FM paloki and spit.they NFM rice.wine
ay mangwanin,
LK say,QF

54a. Then they get a *paloki* plant and **spit** rice wine onto it, saying,

*54b. "**Togpopak** sik-a ay paloki ta mapigpikhipig nan pakhey,*
spit.I you LK paloki so.that tall.and.straight FM rice
ta maikaskasiw isnan otot, faniyas, tilin ya isnan am-in ay
so.that free NFM rat lizard rice.bird and NFM all LK
mamakawas isnáñ payew ya isnan pakhey."
destroy NFM rice.field and NFM rice

54b. "**I spit** on you, *paloki*, so that the rice plants will grow tall, so that they will be free from rats, lizards, rice birds, and all that destroy the fields and the rice plants."

Active predicates in dependent clauses:

Each of the five dependent clauses found in the *Innana* text is prenuclear. Two are contingency margins (in sentences 33, 60), thus effectively downgrading the dynamicity of the independent clause (see the Hopper and Thompson quotation in sec. 3.1.2.2). Three are time clauses that effectively upgrade the dynamicity of the following independent clause.

Of these latter three (sentences 39, 63, 53), the first ('when they eat'), which repeats the predicate of the previous step, is embedded in an explanatory paragraph expounding the events surrounding the step itself. The second ('when they have finished', in sentence 63) could not be a step, semantically speaking, but it serves in effect as a sequential marker. The third ('when they go to the rice fields to do the *Apey* ritual', in sentence 53), is a suppressed step. This potential step is downgraded to a time clause, which in turn upgrades what follows as step 1 of the most important ritual of the *Innana* text.

Nominalized active predicates:

One reason for using a nominalized predicate is to make equative a sentence that could have been expressed by a normal active predicate. The effect of this is to disqualify the predicate from being a step in the procedure, and at the same time to make the sentence more descriptive and thus put it high on the expository spectrum. It also results in greater attention being given to a nominal group. For example, in sentence 9, the size of a pig is in focus:

*9. **Fafoy** nan ilifon nan kakachangyan.*
big.pig FM kill.for.Lifon FM rich.person,PL

9. The rich provide a **big pig** for the *Lifon* ritual.

A second reason for using a nominalized predicate is to add vividness to a normal verbal clause. In sentence 10, *ilifoncha* 'they will butcher for the *Lifon*' is substituted for 'pig', thus heightening the vividness of the clause:

10. Mo nakhaeb nan totyacha, enchat alaen nan
if made FM discussion.their go.they,PART get FM
***ilifoncha** et khekhechencha isnan afob-ong nan chey ninkwa*
for.Lifon.their CONJ divide.they NFM house,PL POSS those owner
isnan fotog ay milifon.
POSS pig LK for.Lifon

10. When they have reached a decision, they will go to get **what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual**, and they will cut it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual.

Active predicates in dependent clauses embedded in nominal constructions:

Each of the dependent clauses in a nominal construction serves to more clearly specify the nominal item. For example, in sentence 56 the dependent clause reminds us that this salted meat is what has already been mentioned back in sentence 51:

56. Kelnatencha yangkhay nan inasin ***ay ipeycha.***
warm.they only FM salted.meat LK do.Apey.they

56. They just heat the salted meat **which they use for the *Apey* ritual.**

In sentence 60 'the rice field' is clarified:

60. Mo eb-eb nan payew ***ay apeyancha*** *et iyapeycha nan*
if spring FM rice.field LK do.Apey.they CONJ do.Apey.they FM
manok.
chicken

60. If the rice field **for which they are doing the *Apey* ritual** has its own spring, they use a chicken for the ritual.

Figure 30 shows the relative dynamic levels of these four types of active predicates (those which occur as other than predicates of independent clauses). This cline is the one I propose for procedural text at this stage of analysis.

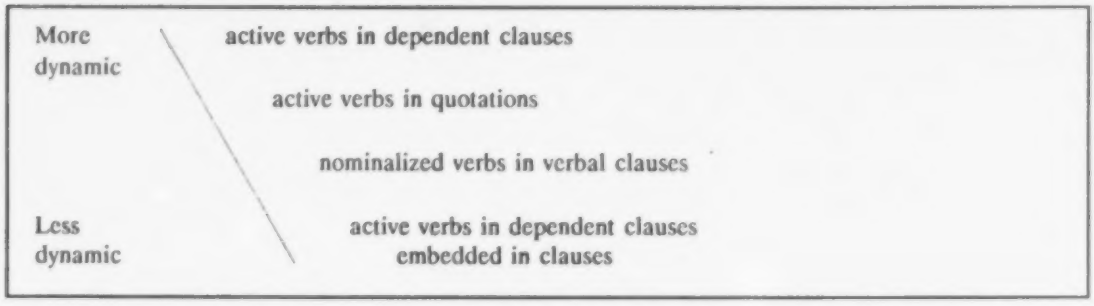
More dynamic
active verbs in dependent clauses
active verbs in quotations
nominalized verbs in verbal clauses
Less dynamic
active verbs in dependent clauses embedded in clauses

Fig. 30. Dynamic level of active verbs that function in ways other than as predicates of independent clauses.

Section 2.1.3.4 cited three instances of active verbs that do not act as steps in embedded procedures. There is one more such exception to be mentioned, one that involves polarity. As Hopper and Thompson have pointed out (1980:252, 287), negation reduces transitivity and so depresses dynamism. In the EXPLANATION segment of the *Innana* text there is only one negated active verb, and it is in a nominalized construction in sentence 31 'who among them did not make their contribution'. Sentence 31 is the text of pre-step 1 of the *Soyok* ritual and is therefore less dynamic than the procedural steps.

3.1.2.7 Spectrum for active verbs

A summary of the discussion to date gives us the spectrum for active verbs in embedded procedural discourse (fig. 31).

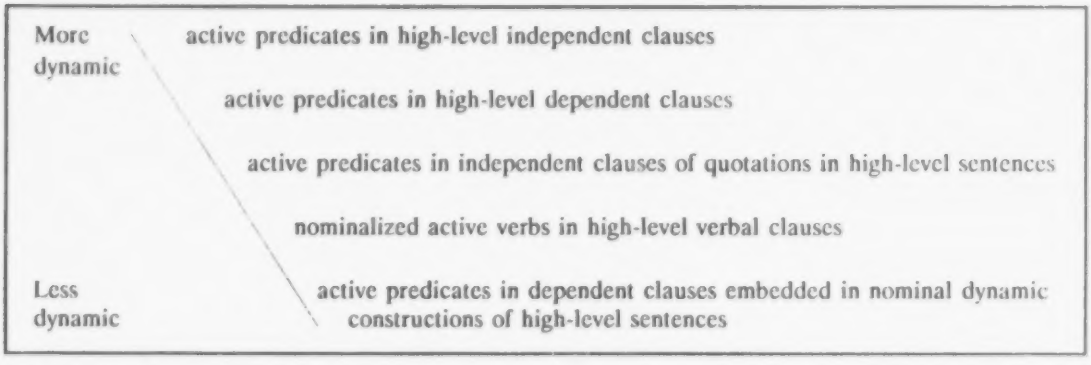
More dynamic
active predicates in high-level independent clauses
active predicates in high-level dependent clauses
active predicates in independent clauses of quotations in high-level sentences
nominalized active verbs in high-level verbal clauses
Less dynamic
active predicates in dependent clauses embedded in nominal dynamic constructions of high-level sentences

Fig. 31. A spectrum for active verbs.

3.1.3 Stative predicates

As was the case with the active predicates, the first question to ask of clauses with stative predicates is, What role does this clause play within the sentence and paragraph? On the basis of role, stative predicates are divided into six categories:

(1) Stative predicates in independent clauses of sentences at the highest level in the hierarchical structure, that is, either standing alone or as texts for explanatory paragraphs (sentences 8, 31, 33, 34, 73, 75, 81).

(2) Stative predicates in dependent clauses of sentences at the highest level in the hierarchical structure (sentences 26, 44).

(3) Stative predicates in independent clauses within sentences that are embedded within explanatory paragraphs (sentences 11, 12, 13, 37, 40, 64).

(4) Stative predicates in dependent clauses within sentences embedded within explanatory paragraphs (sentence 54).

(5) Nominalized stative verbs (sentences 8, 11, 12, 20, 32, 36, 47, 59).

(6) Stative predicates in dependent clauses embedded within nominal constructions (sentences 10, 14, 33, 34, 35, 38, 41, 42, 43, 47, 54, 76).

3.1.3.1 Stative predicates in high-level independent clauses

A survey of the location of the seven stative predicates that occur in high-level independent clauses is very revealing. Sentences 8, 31, 33, 34, 73, and 75 each occur at the beginning of rituals. Semantically, each is a potential procedural step. Each is low in transitivity by virtue of being stative rather than active, and none has a dynamism-increasing device (see fig. 29) to increase its potency. For this reason each of these was analyzed as a preparatory step. (In the case of sentences 73 and 75, they were conjoined on hierarchical grounds into a single pre-step.)

The seventh stative predicate is in sentence 81. It does not encode a pre-step, but it does occur in an interesting position: at the closure of the final ritual of the *Innana* complex. Its occurrence here would tend to maintain the dynamic level of the closure of the *Tengaw* ritual and thus produce a more mundane profile (see sec. 3.3.3.4), as befitting the dénouement *Innana* ritual.

3.1.3.2 Stative predicates in dependent clauses of high-level sentences

Of the three stative predicates that occur in dependent clauses of high-level sentences, two occur as time margins on closures of the *Soyok* and *Apey* rituals. For example in sentence 26:

26. Mo ***nachokpos nan Lifon,*** *sachat* *akhes illokhi nan Soyok.*
when finish FM Lifon then.they,PART also begin FM Soyok

26. **When the *Lifon* ritual is finished**, then they also begin the *Soyok* ritual.

And again, in sentence 44:

44. Mo ***machokpos nan takho nan Soyok*** *et* *kawaksana*
when finish FM person FM Soyok CONJ tomorrow.time.its

et *Mangmang.*
PART Mangmang

44. **When the people have finished the *Soyok* ritual,** the *Mangmang* ritual is held the next day.

3.1.3.3 Stative predicates in independent clauses in embedded sentences

It is significant that each of the six stative predicates that occur in independent clauses of sentences that are not themselves preparatory steps, occur within a peak of one of the rituals:

Sentences 11, 12, and 13 occur in step 1 of the *Lifon* ritual, which is the main peak of that ritual.

Sentences 37 and 40 occur in step 2 of the *Soyok* ritual, which is the main peak of that ritual.

Sentence 64 occurs in step 6 of the *Apey* ritual, which is the secondary peak of the main ritual of the *Innana* rituals.

We assume that these stative predicates serve to keep the tension of the peaks at a consistently high level.

3.1.3.4 Stative predicates in dependent clauses in embedded sentences

The only instances of stative predicates in dependent clauses in embedded sentences are in the quotation already discussed in section 3.1.2.6 (sentence 54). That quotation gives the prayer spoken to the *paloki* plant. It contains two dependent clauses with stative predicates. Both of these clauses give the intention of the invocation and, in fact, the intention of the whole *Apey* ritual. Thus the main aim of the whole *Innana* ritual as it relates to rice growing is embodied in the quotation encoded in these two dependent clauses:

54a. Sachat alan nan paloki ya togpopancha isnan tapey
then.they,PART get FM paloki and spit.they NFM rice.wine

ay mangwanin,
LK say,QF

54a. Then they get a *paloki* plant and spit rice wine onto it, saying,

*54b. "Togpopak sik-a ay paloki ta **mapigpikhipig** nan pakhey,*
spit.I you LK paloki so.that tall.and.straight FM rice

*ta **maikaskasiw** isnan otot, faniyas, tilin ya isnan am-in ay*
so.that free NFM rat lizard rice.bird and NFM all LK

mamakawas isnan payew ya isnan pakhey."
destroy NFM rice.field and NFM rice

54b. "I spit on you, *paloki*, so that the rice plants **will grow tall**, so that they **will be free** from rats, lizards, rice birds, and all that destroy the fields and the rice plants."

3.1.3.5 Nominalized stative predicates

There are two reasons for using a nominalized stative predicate. The first is in an equative construction where a nominalized predicate is required by the grammar. For example, in sentence 32 a potentially stative predicate clause is made equative to focus attention on those people who catch pigs. In doing this, the stative predicate is nominalized:

*32. Siya chana nan **madpap** nan fotogcha idwanin.*
this these FM catch FM pig.their now

32. They are the **ones to contribute** (lit., catch) their pigs this time.

Secondly, nominalized stative predicates are used in clauses with active or stative predicates to add vividness. For example, *nan maala* 'the thing to be taken' in sentence 20:

*20. **Nan maala**, fingiten nan takho.*
FM take share FM person

20. The people receive shares **of meat**.

The nominalized stative verb in sentence 20 also serves as a back reference, taking the reader back to sentence 11, which is expounded in sentences 20-25.

An example of a nominalized stative predicate that manifests polarization is in sentence 12, which contains a negative nominalized stative:

*12. **Nan ad-i mafingit** maiskhep is afong.*
FM not share put.inside NFM house

12. **What is not to be distributed** is put inside the house.

3.1.3.6 Stative predicates in clauses embedded in nominal constructions

A stative predicate embedded in nominal constructions clause serves mainly to clarify the nominal construction within which it is embedded. For example, in sentence 35 'house' is clarified:

*35. Sachat eyey isnan afong ay **maamongancha** isnan*
then.they,PART take NFM house LK gathering.place.their NFM
***maschem**.*
night

35. Then they take it to the **house where they will gather at night.**

Some of the stative predicates that occur embedded in a nominal construction manifest polarization. For example, sentence 14 contains a negative stative verb in an embedded clause:

*14. Nan nay chay **eg-ay nafingit eyeycha** isnan afong ay*
FM this those,LK not share take.they NFM house LK
maamongancha.
gathering.place.their

14. Those parts **not to be distributed** are taken to the house where they will gather.

3.1.3.7 Spectrum for stative verbs

There is insufficient evidence in the *Innana* text to draw a conclusive spectrum for stative verbs in procedural discourse, but by analogy with the spectrum for active verbs we can postulate such a spectrum (fig. 32). All of the evidence in the *Innana* text supports this conclusion.

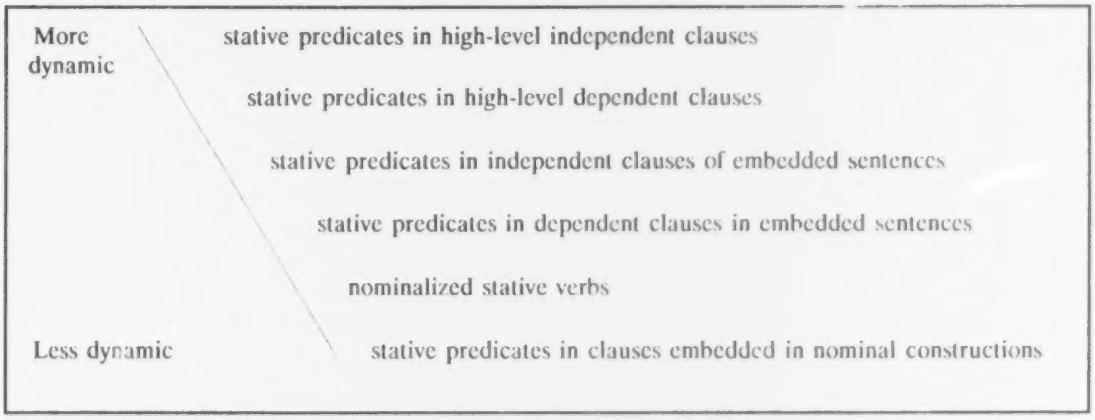
More dynamic
stative predicates in high-level independent clauses
stative predicates in high-level dependent clauses
stative predicates in independent clauses of embedded sentences
stative predicates in dependent clauses in embedded sentences
nominalized stative verbs
Less dynamic
stative predicates in clauses embedded in nominal constructions

Fig. 32. A spectrum for stative verbs.

In this proposed spectrum for stative verbs, each level has, by analogy with the spectrum for active verbs, the possibility of being heightened or depressed by the devices discussed in section 3.1.2.5.

3.1.4 Spectrum for active and stative verbs

In procedural discourse, items that are steps in the procedure are the most dynamic. Those that are potential steps but are downgraded for some reason are lower on the scale. Everything else is lower yet.

This means that in procedural discourse not all items on the active verb spectrum will be above those on the stative verb spectrum. A mesh of the relative dynamism of active and stative verbs (figs. 31 and 32) gives us a tentative working spectrum for Bontoc procedural discourse (fig. 33), which now needs to be tested using a wide range of procedural text. (Laid over this working spectrum are the devices for raising or lowering dynamicity seen in fig. 29.)

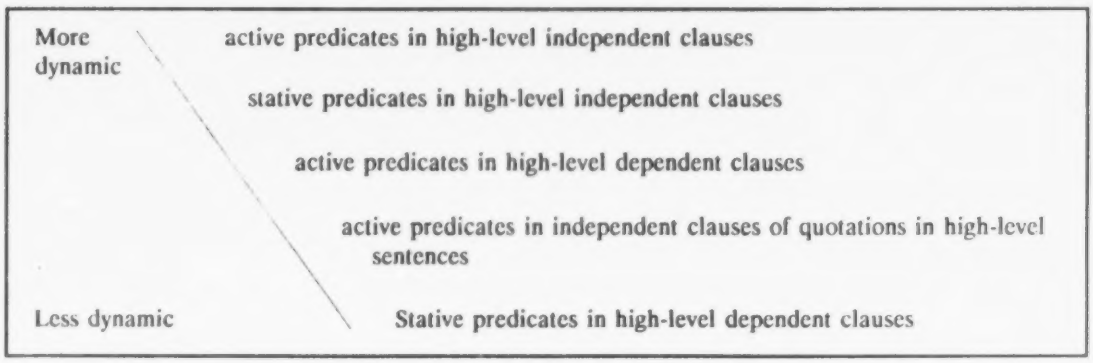
More dynamic
active predicates in high-level independent clauses
stative predicates in high-level independent clauses
active predicates in high-level dependent clauses
active predicates in independent clauses of quotations in high-level sentences
Less dynamic
Stative predicates in high-level dependent clauses

Fig. 33. A working spectrum for active and stative predicates in procedural discourse.

3.1.5 Spectrum in Bontoc expository text

Explanatory text occurs in both the SETTING and CONCLUSION of the *Innana* text. The challenge is to set up criteria that will provide a spectrum for explanation that makes sense and confirms our intuitions about the SETTING and CONCLUSION.

Longacre has suggested (personal communication) that the spectrum for descriptive material may be the complete reverse of that for narrative. Taking this as a starting point, we have the cline seen in figure 34. (Laid over this basic spectrum are other devices that tend to affect the descriptiveness of equative and existential explanatory sentences. These are discussed in secs. 3.1.5.1 to 3.1.5.3).

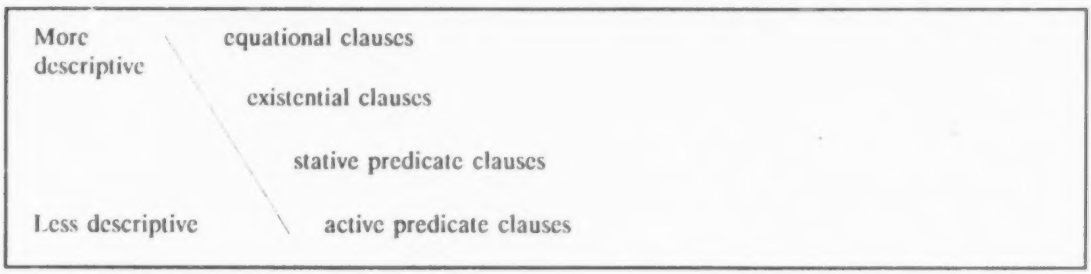

Fig. 34. An initial expository spectrum.

3.1.5.1 Devices to increase descriptiveness

An initial survey of explanatory text indicates five ways in which explanatory sentences may be made more descriptive.

(1) Multiple embedding of the initial nominal group (sentences 5, 83, 87, 89).

*5. **Nan kadchakhopan nan lima ay inon-onko siya nan makwanin***	5. **The five rituals that I have outlined**, are **together** called the *Innana* rituals.
FM all.together POSS five LK detail.I this FM call,QF	
Innana.	
Innana	

(2) Fronting and pronominalization of initial nominal (sentences 2, 5). For example, in sentence 2 we have 'This *Innana* ritual' highlighted by being fronted:

*2. **Nan Innana**, esa ay kakhawisan ay ekhad id sangad-om ay*
FM Innana one LK very.good LK custom at long.ago LK
mawanwaned idwanin isnan ili ay Fontok, Samoki ya nan tap-in
inherit now NFM village LK Bontoc Samoki and FM rest
nan kafakhaang.
POSS village

2. **The *Innana***, it is one of the best customs of long ago handed down to the people of Bontoc Samoki and the other villages.

(3) The use of deictics (sentences 3, 84, 85). Sentence 3 is an example.

*3. Maangnen nan **nay** Innana isnan tinawen ay kalpasan nan kifos*
is.done FM this Innana NFM each.year LK finish.time FM end
si sama ya toned isnan chinakhon.
POSS field.work and plant NFM each.dry.season

3. **This** *Innana* ritual is done every year just after the end of the working of the fields and the planting in the dry season.

(4) Prenuclear time margins (sentences 4, 88). For example, in sentence 4:

*4a. **Isnan timpon nan Innana**, maangnen omona nan Lifon;*
NFM time.of POSS Innana is.done first FM Lifon

4a. **At the time of the *Innana* rituals**, the *Lifon* ritual is done first;

(5) Nominalized predicates in the second item of equative and existential sentences (sentences 5, 84, 85, 86, 89). For example, in sentence 85 is a nominalized construction in the second item of the topic-comment equative construction:

*85. Siya akhes nan **mangipafikas isnan anan-ak** ay **inchog-an***
this also FM strengthen NFM offspring,PL LK manage.well
ta way iwalakcha isnan Innana.
so.that there.is contribute.they NFM Innana

85. That also is **what causes children to be encouraged to manage well so that they will have a contribution for the *Innana* rituals.**

3.1.5.2 Device to lower descriptiveness

There is one type of device which, when used in conjunction with an explanatory sentence, would seem to lower its descriptiveness. It is the use of prenuclear subjunctive adjunct or clause (sentences 86, 87). For example, sentence 86 has a prenuclear conditional clause:

*86. Tay **mo ad-i cha inchog-an** et mid iwalakcha isnan*
because if not they manage.well CONJ none contribute.they NFM
Innana.
Innana

86. Because **if they don't manage well**, they will have no contribution for the *Innana* rituals.

3.1.5.3 Summary of devices to increase or decrease descriptiveness

Further analysis of a wider corpus of expository discourse is needed before it can be determined whether this summary is valid for a range of explanatory text.

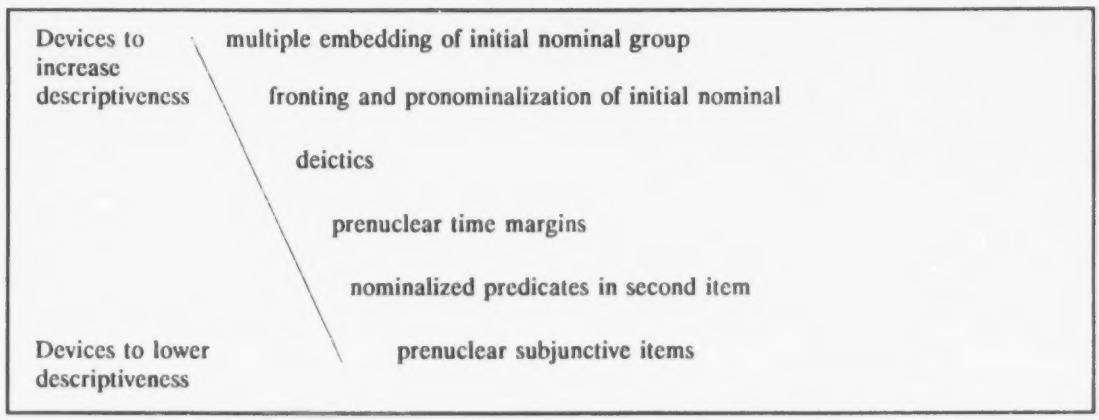
Devices to increase descriptiveness
multiple embedding of initial nominal group
fronting and pronominalization of initial nominal
deictics
prenuclear time margins
nominalized predicates in second item
prenuclear subjunctive items
Devices to lower descriptiveness

Fig. 35. Devices to increase or decrease descriptiveness of explanatory sentences.

3.2 Transitivity

Hopper and Thompson (1980:252-53) discuss transitivity under ten headings. Applying their work to the *Innana* text, I drew profiles that not only correlated well with the spectrum profiles drawn according to different criteria, but also accorded reasonably well with my intuitive feelings about the transitivity of a range of verbs. However, it would be insensitive to apply the Hopper-Thompson scheme without adaptation for Philippine verb forms.

	High Transitivity	Low Transitivity
(1) Participants	two or more participants (Agent and Object)	one participant
(2) Kinesis	action	non-action
(3) Aspect	telic	atelic
(4) Punctuality	punctual	nonpunctual
(5) Volitionality	volitional	nonvolitional
(6) Affirmation	affirmative	negative
(7) Mode	realis	irrealis
(8) Agency	agent high in potency	agent low in potency
(9) Affectedness of Object	object totally affected	object not affected
(10) Individuation of Object	object highly individuated	object nonindividuated

Fig. 36. Factors affecting transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252-53).

To be able to apply Hopper and Thompson's transitivity criteria to the *Innana* text, I first assigned values to each of the criteria:

(1) Participants. If agent and object are present, two points. If there are several participants but not both agent and object, one point. One participant, no points.

(2) Kinesis. Highly transferrable actions, for example, sentence 10 'they will go to get (the pigs)', two points. Less transferrable actions, one point. States, no points.

(3) Aspect. An action viewed from its end point, that is, a telic action, is more effectively transferred to a patient than one not provided with such an end point. A strongly telic action, two points. An atelic action, one point. A state, no points.

(4) Punctuality. Punctual actions, two points. Durative actions, one point. States, no points.

(5) Volitionality. Volitional actions, two points. Somewhat volitional, one point. Nonvolitional, no points.

(6) Affirmation. Affirmative, two points. Negative, no points.

(7) Mode. Completive aspect, two points. Noncompletive, no points.

(8) Agency. Sentences where the agent effects the action, two points. Intermediate actions, one point. States, no points.

(9) Affectedness of object. Object completely sliced, killed, or in some other way affected, two points. Object partly affected, one point. Object not affected, or no object, no points.

(10) Individuation of object. Highly individuated objects (proper, human, animate, concrete, singular, count, definite), two points. Somewhat individuated, one point. Nonindividuated (common, inanimate, abstract, plural, mass, indefinite), no points.

Using this point system, I then assigned points to each clause in the *Innana* text.

Van Dijk and Kintsch (1978:63), in commenting on experiments done by Gomulicki on recall, note that:

> The probability of recall of an element is directly related to the degree of contribution of that element to the total meaning of the passage. The process of understanding a passage involves a ranking of importance of the various elements, and moves in general abstraction from the detailed input. Thus in narratives the units of agent and action are better recalled than descriptions, due to their different importance or relevance for the story.

Therefore we would expect that steps in a procedural discourse would qualify for better recall than descriptions. This is related to Bonnie Meyer's work on prose (described in van Dijk and Kintsch 1978:64-65):

> Sequences of sentences from a discourse (are) assigned a hierarchical structure based on rhetorical categories denoting the specific relations between the sentences, such as specification, explication or cause. Her experiments show that the sentences located high in this hierarchical structure are better recalled and more resistant against forgetting.

Stimulated by these observations, I felt that it might be profitable to chart the transitivity of the steps of the *Innana* ritual embedded procedural discourses. These graphs are given in the next section, along with spectrum profiles, to allow for ease of comparison.

3.3 Profile

Most discourse is not spoken or written on a uniform level of excitation and tension. Rather, a discourse normally develops cumulatively, customarily peaking towards its end—or at least past its middle. The flow of discourse seems to quicken and grow more turbulent at such a point. Longacre terms this point 'peak' (1981:347), which is:

(1) a structure which correlates with underlying notional categories;

(2) something marked in the surface structure of the language;

(3) a practical zone of analytical difficulty for the analyst; and

(4) a feature which serves to give a profile to a whole discourse which includes one or more such units.

In this section two profiles for each segment of the *Innana* text will be plotted. The first is a spectrum profile based on the guidelines originally drawn up by Longacre (1981) and Jones and Jones (1979). The second is a transitivity profile based on the work of Hopper and Thompson (see sec. 3.2). The profiles will be presented together for ease of comparison.

3.3.1 Plotting a spectrum profile for the *Innana* rituals

Using the spectrum described in section 3.1.4 and the dynamism-heightening and -lowering devices described in section 3.1.2.5, it is possible to draw spectrum profiles for the *Innana* rituals. This is done by giving each high-level independent sentence (including the high-level sentences of settings, pre-steps, and steps) a point score according to its level of dynamicity for procedural discourse. For example:

8 points: active predicates in high-level independent clauses
4 points: stative predicates in high-level independent clauses
2 points: equative predicates in high-level independent clauses

Points were also allotted for features that raise or lower dynamicity of active and stative predicates:

Add 3 points: coordinated active independent clauses
Add 3 points: prenuclear time clauses (active)
Add 2 points: prenuclear time clauses (stative)
Add 1 point: sequence particles
Add 1 point: prenuclear time phrases
Subtract 1 point: complex modal predication
Subtract 1 point: group action affixation
Subtract 1 point: subjunctive adjunct
Subtract 2 points: reduplication
Subtract 2 points: subjunctive sentence margin

But what does a profile really tell us? Does the graph drawn here have any relationship to our intuitions about a text? Yes, it does. What we are doing in plotting a profile of the spectrum of a text is plotting the ways in which a storyteller or author formally indicates that he is approaching, has arrived at, or is leaving behind the most important part of a discourse narrative: Tension rises from the complication towards the resolution. The peak is the place where a good storyteller has his readers sitting on the edge of their chairs. It is the place of highest tension. The search for a meaningful spectrum of predicate types (and the subsequent plotting of the profile) is an attempt to give formal recognition to one's intuitive feelings about a text.

This is what Hopper and Thompson have done through their transitivity studies in narrative. However, as we will see, transitivity and spectrum have different contributions to make in discourse study.

3.3.2 Plotting a spectrum profile for expository parts of the *Innana* text

Profiles can be drawn for the expository sections of the *Innana* text. However, the SETTING, the *Mangmang* ritual, and the CONCLUSION are single explanatory paragraphs, so the profiles here are paragraph, not discourse, profiles. (The *Mangmang* ritual lies on the borderline between paragraph and embedded discourse; it is really an embedded procedure that has been contracted to a single paragraph and converted to expository text by the removal of sequential elements. For the purposes of spectrum we treat the *Mangmang* ritual as an explanatory paragraph. Elsewhere, we call it an embedded discourse because, like the other embedded discourses, it has its own subtitle.)

The significance of the paragraph profiles differs from the significance of the profiles drawn for the embedded procedural discourses. The three expository profiles have something to teach us about expository paragraph structure, whereas the embedded procedural profiles are a comment on discourse structure. Preliminary work on a wider corpus of expository text suggests that a meaningful expository spectrum would involve a complex interplay of predicate types, a number of fronting devices, polarity,

and modality. Therefore, the explanatory paragraph profiles drawn here must be considered very elementary and tentative.

Following the spectrum outlined in section 3.1.7, points are awarded to each expository predicate type. For example:

8 points: equational independent clauses
6 points: existential independent clauses
4 points: stative independent clauses
2 points: active independent clauses

Points are also added or subtracted according to the devices for increasing or decreasing descriptiveness. One point is added for each descriptiveness-increasing device (see sec. 3.1.5.1), and one subtracted for each descriptiveness-decreasing device (see sec. 3.1.5.2).

3.3.3 Profiles of the *Innana* text

3.3.3.1 Profiles of the SETTING paragraph of the *Innana* text

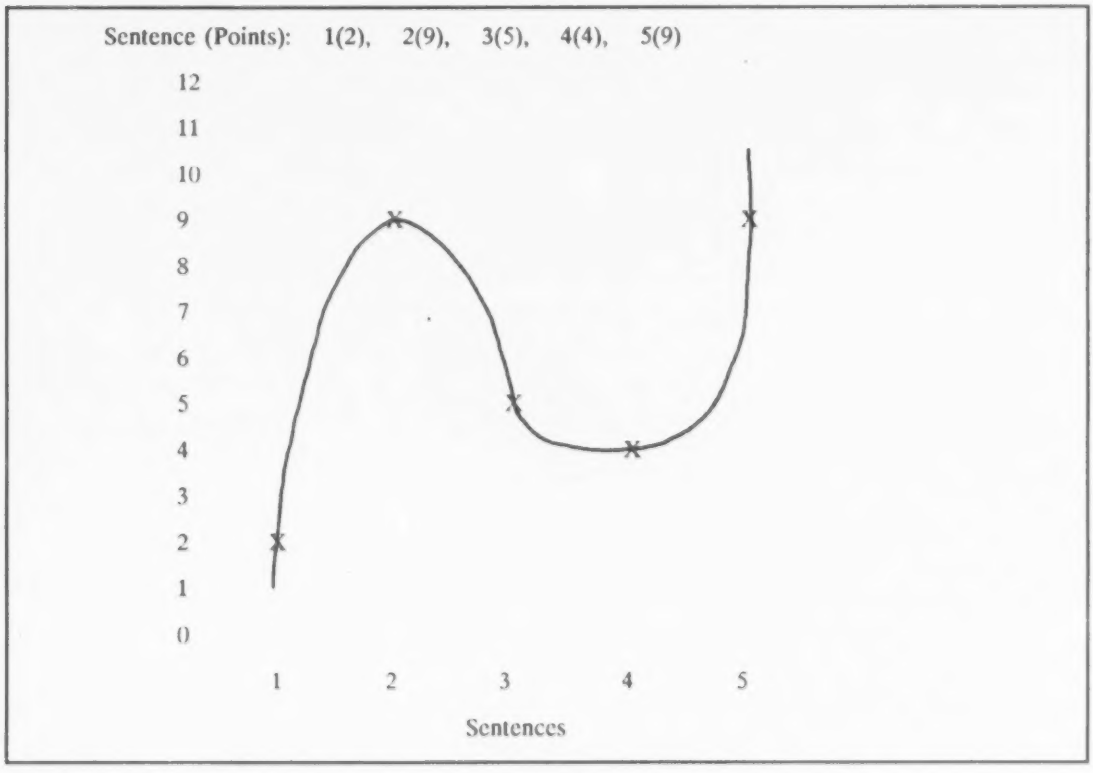

Fig. 37. Paragraph spectrum profile of the SETTING of the Innana text.

The sharp contrast between the spectrum and transitivity profiles of the SETTING is directly related to the fact that, in expository discourse, active predicates are low on the spectrum, while equational predicates are high. In other words, equational predicates, which have low transitivity, are more explanatory, and active predicates, which have high transitivity, are low on the explanatory cline.

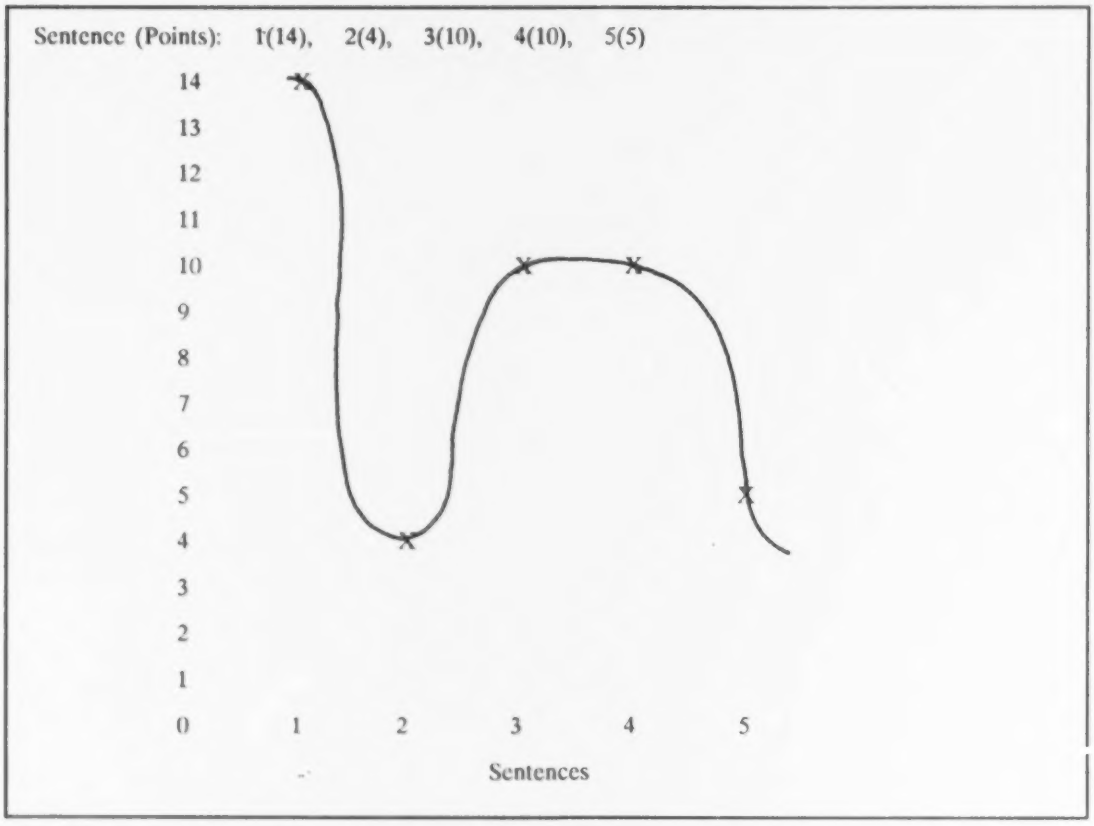

Fig. 38. Paragraph transitivity profile of the SETTING *of the Innana text.*

In chapter 2 we discussed the role of different paragraph types in discourse and the need for further research in this area. In conjunction with that study we need to study paragraph profiles and relate them to the roles that various paragraph types fulfill.

3.3.3.2 Profiles of the *Lifon* ritual of the *Innana* text

The only place in these two graphs where we have a mismatch between the spectrum and transitivity profiles is at sentence 14. According to the spectrum profile, sentence 14 is less dynamic than sentence 17. But the transitivity profile indicates the opposite. Let us look at these two sentences:

14. 'Those parts not to be distributed are taken to the house where they will gather.'

17. 'The night of that *Lifon* ritual, the rich eat.'

In terms of the real world, sentence 14 is a transition action between sentence 10 where the pig is caught, killed, and butchered, and sentence 17 where the people meet and eat. The two important events are butchering the pig (and all that that involves), and eating together. Hence, these two events are the major and minor peaks of this ritual. However, this state of affairs is not reflected in the transitivity of these sentences. The problem here is that the verb 'to carry' is more transitive according to the Hopper-Thompson model than the verb 'to eat', yet in terms of the culture, and in terms of the *Lifon* ritual, the eating is far more important than the carrying. So here we have illustrated the different emphasis of these two systems. Transitivity is sensitive to the intrinsic dynamicity of clauses in isolation,

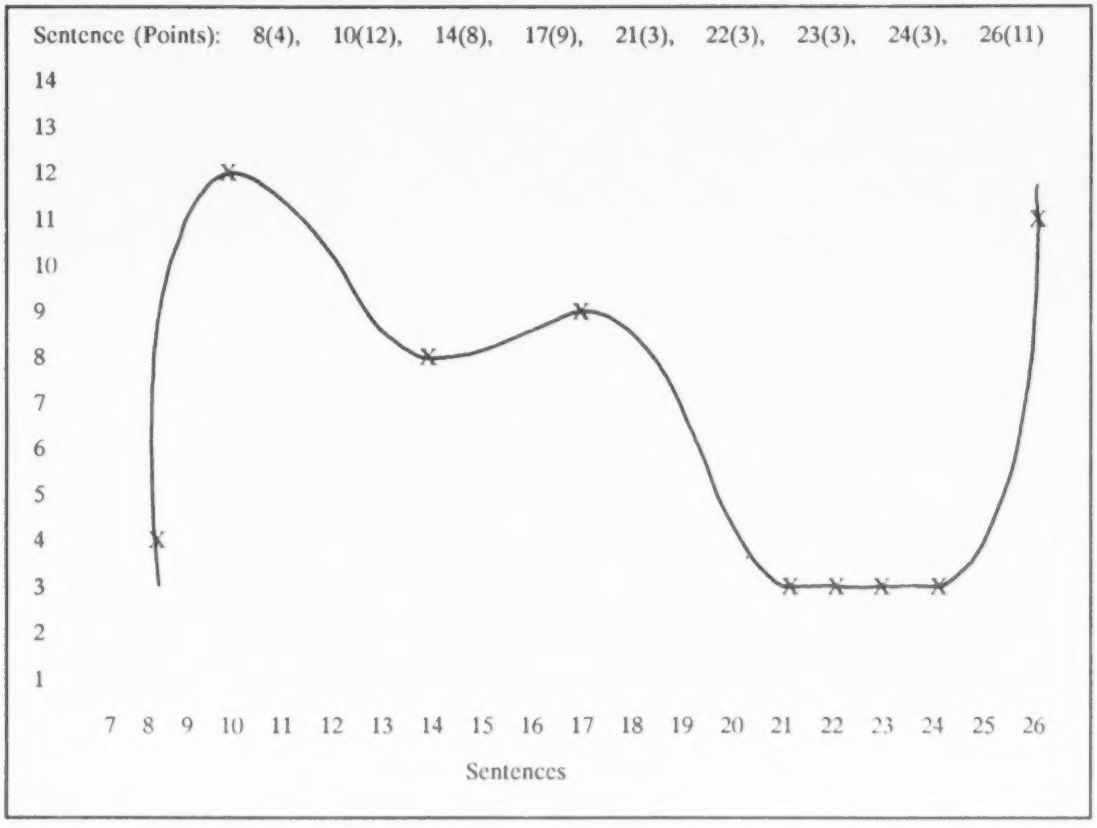

Fig. 39. Spectrum profile of the Lifon ritual.

whereas spectrum as we have defined it is sensitive to the dynamicity of clauses in the context of its sentence. The spectrum profile makes sentence 17 slightly more dynamic on the grounds of its temporal pre-margin.

The spectrum profile of the *Lifon* ritual shows a main peak (sentences 10-13) and a minor peak (sentences 17-19). The major peak shows the following features:

(1) It is preceded by a preparatory step (sentences 8-9).

(2) It is brought on stage by a time clause (sentence 10):

*10. **Mo nakhaeb nan totyacha**, enchat alaen nan*
if made FM discussion.their go.they,PART get FM

ilifoncha et khekhechencha isnan afob-ong nan chey ninkwa
for.Lifon.their CONJ divide.they NFM house,PL POSS those owner

isnan fotog ay milifon.
POSS pig LK for.Lifon

10. **When they have reached a decision**, they will go to get what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual, and they will cut it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual.

(3) Two possible steps (catching and butchering the pig) are conjoined into one sentence (sentence 10).

(4) Both of these clauses, getting and butchering the pig, have very high transitivity values (18 and 17).

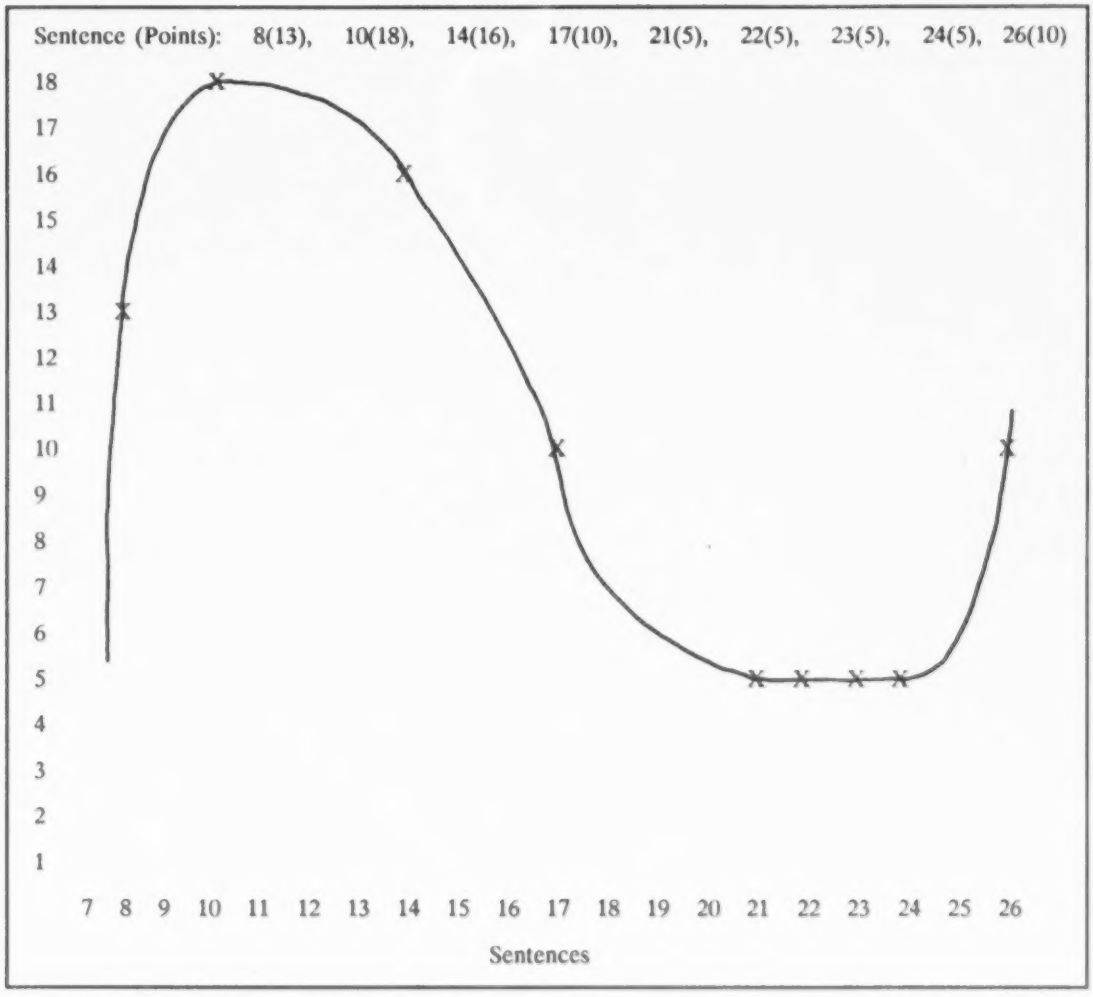

Fig. 40. Transitivity profile of the Lifon ritual.

(5) Vividness is added by the use of a nominalized active verb as a noun substitute: *nan ilifoncha* 'what they will butcher for the *Lifon*'.

(6) The events that accompany this step are expounded in a paraphrase paragraph. (See fig. 18 where the paragraph structure of *Lifon* ritual is displayed.) This rhetorical underlining (Longacre 1981:349) ensures that the peak is sustained and comes clearly into focus for the reader/hearer.

3.3.3.3 Profiles of the *Soyok* ritual of the *Innana* text

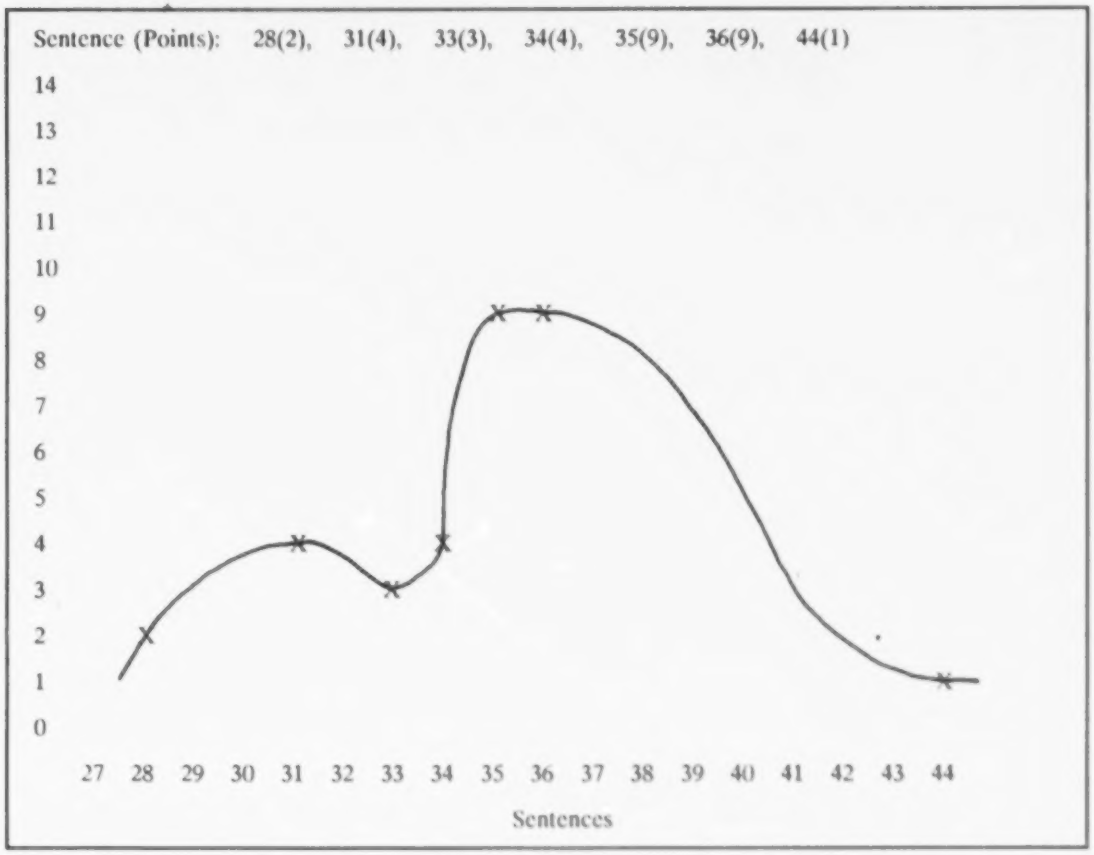

Fig. 41. Spectrum profile of the Soyok ritual.

In these two profiles, the spectrum profile identifies sentence 31, in which the clan discuss who will contribute a pig, as being a more important preparatory step than sentence 33, in which an exchange is made of pigs or money, and as equally important as 34, in which the pig is butchered. On the basis of transitivity, 33 is more dynamic than 31, and 34 less so.

Again, at the peak of the ritual, in sentence 36, we have a mismatch of the two profiles. In sentence 36 the people meet and eat, an activity that is not highly transitive in Hopper-Thompson terms. However, as the spectrum profile rightly reflects, this activity is highly significant from a sociological viewpoint.

The *Soyok* peak (sentences 35-43) shows the following features:

(1) It is preceded by a slow build-up of three preparatory steps (sentences 31, 33, 34).

(2) It is brought on stage by a sequence marker (sentence 35) that is anaphoric to the three pre-steps.

(3) Sentence 36 is also introduced by a time phrase.

(4) Sentence 36 is made somewhat more vivid by the use of a nominalized stative predicate as a noun substitute.

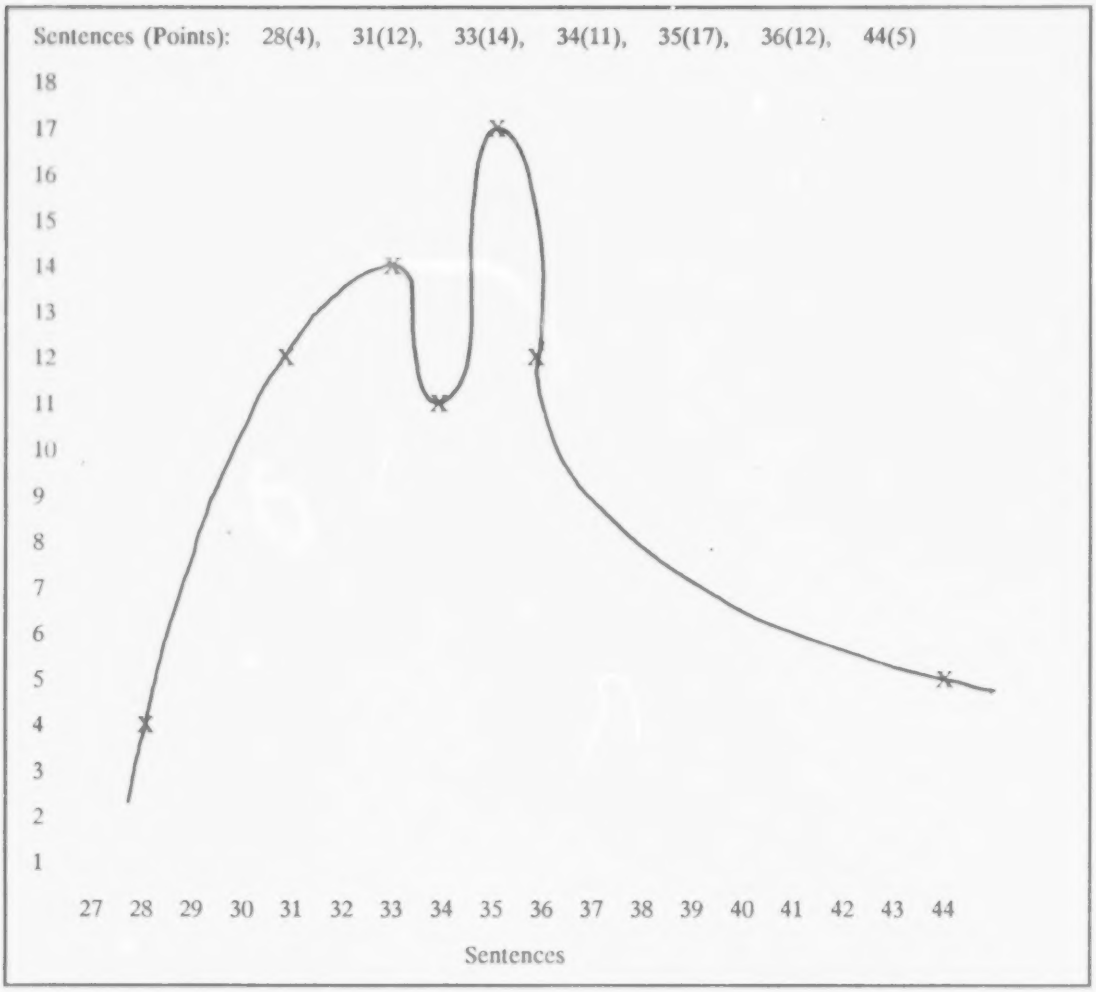

Fig. 42. Transitivity profile of the Soyok ritual.

(5) The events accompanying step 2 (sentence 36) are expounded in a paraphrase paragraph. Again, this underlines the importance of step 2 by giving the full details of what the clan get-together involves. Longacre speaks of this kind of rhetorical underlining in narrative also, where the event-line is packed with detail not normally appropriate to a routine narration (1981:349).

3.3.3.4 Profiles of the *Mangmang* ritual of the *Innana* text

The author of the *Innana* text encodes the *Mangmang* ritual not as a procedure (in contrast to other rituals), but as an embedded expository discourse consisting of a single explanatory paragraph. This ritual is downgraded from an embedded procedural discourse to an explanatory paragraph in line with the author's focal content. Therefore the profiles for this ritual reflect paragraph rather than discourse characteristics.

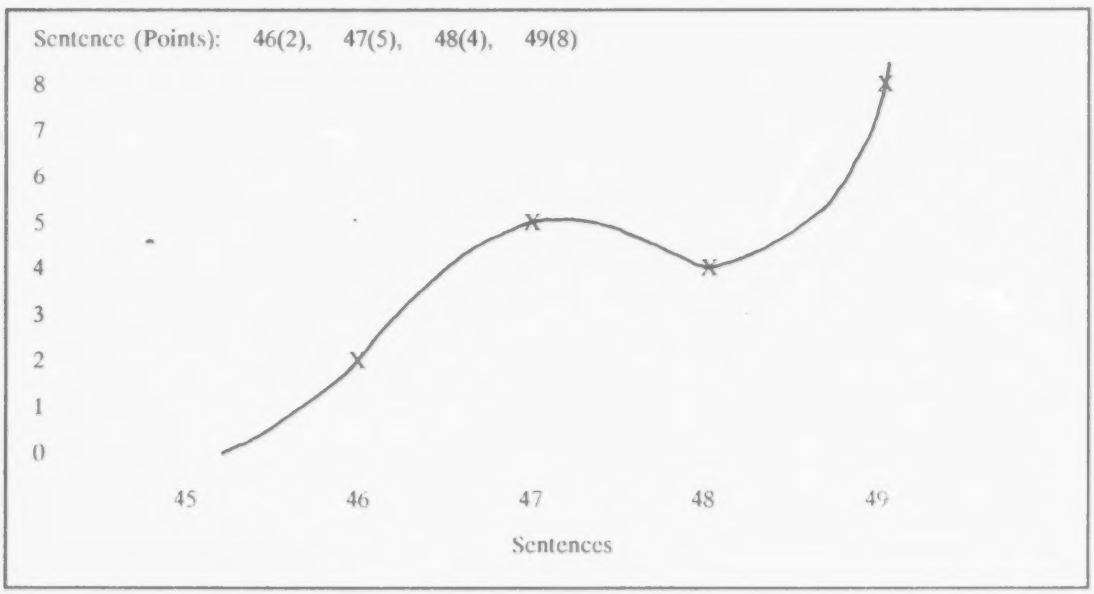

Fig. 43. Paragraph spectrum profile of the Mangmang ritual.

In the *Innana* text's SETTING is an explanatory paragraph without unusual characteristics. The transitivity profile of that paragraph is almost a mirror image of its spectrum profile, with equative clauses high in the expository spectrum and low in transitivity, and active clauses low in the expository spectrum and high in transitivity. This latter is also true, of course, in the *Mangmang* ritual, but the shape of the spectrum profile is not reflected in the transitivity profile because the spectrum profile is sensitive to features that are important in explanations—fronted topics, elaboration, embedding—whereas the transitivity profile is not.

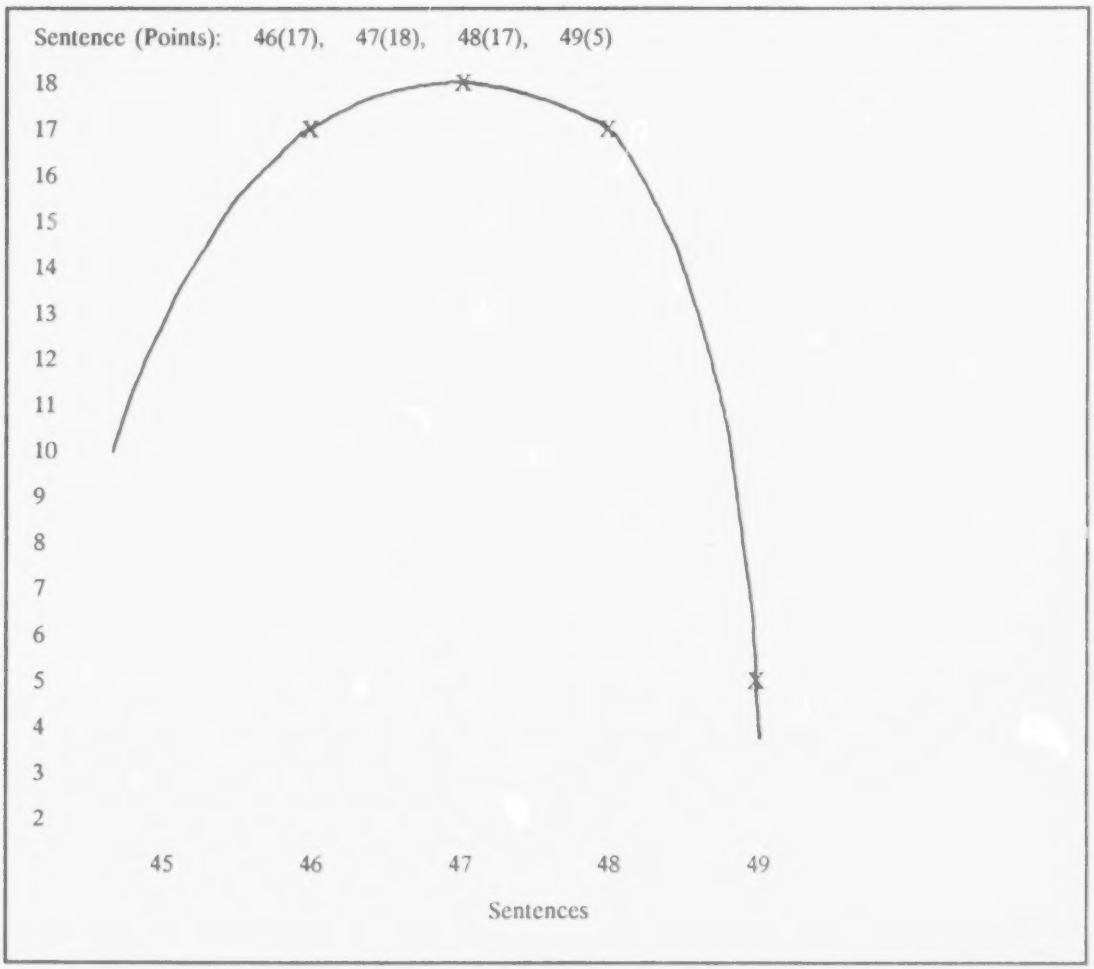

Fig. 44. Paragraph transitivity profile of the Mangmang ritual.

3.3.3.5 Profiles of the *Apey* ritual of the *Innana* text

Sentences 51 and 52 also illustrate a difference between the values measured by spectrum and transitivity. The spectrum profile illustrates that sentences 51 and 52 are preparatory. These two sentences are backgrounded to the main thrust of the ritual, which is encoded in steps. However, on the transitivity scale they are very high, and as high-level sentences each rates a separate point on the graph. Hopper and Thompson (1980:280) describe background as "that part of a discourse which does not immediately and crucially contribute to the speaker's goal, but which merely assists, amplifies, or comments on it." This describes the role of sentences 51 and 52, but at this point the Hopper-Thompson transitivity scale alone fails to make this clear. However, if we were to redefine transitivity in the light of Reid's suggestions (see sec. 3.3.4), the transitivity levels of these sentences are immediately reduced because of the focus of the active predicates.

Again, when we look at sentences 56, 57, and 60, the spectrum profile illustrates the fall in tension that we intuitively feel when we read the text of the *Apey* ritual, between the main peak of the ritual in sentences 53-55 and the later activities. This fall in tension, formally indicated by modality, repeated action, and contingency, is only very weakly reflected in the transitivity profile.

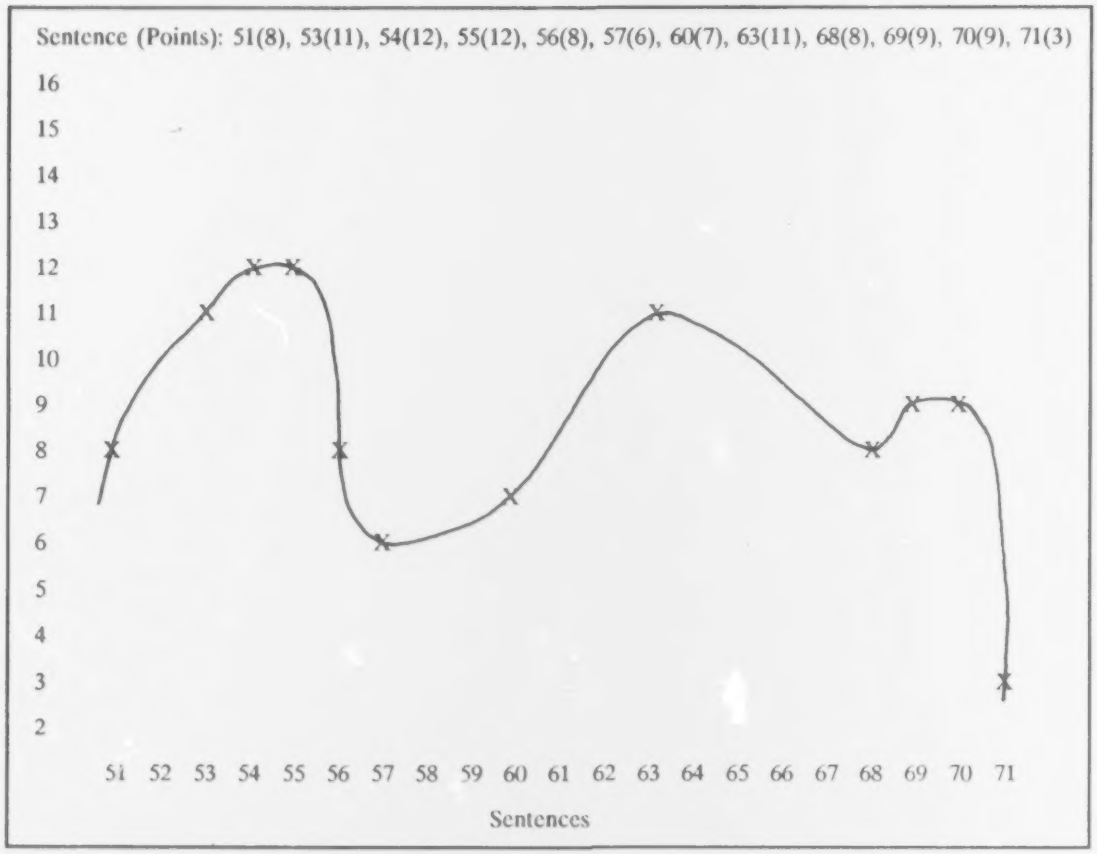

Fig. 45. Spectrum profile of the Apey ritual.

On the other hand, the transitivity profile does reinforce the spectrum profile at several places: at peak (sentences 53-55); at the falling off of tension after sentence 63; at the rise in tension at sentences 69 and 70; and at the sharp fall in tension from sentence 70 to sentence 71.

The spectrum profile shows the main peak extending over only three sentences, from 53-55, with a secondary peak from sentence 63-67. This main peak shows the following features:

(1) It is preceded by an action setting consisting of two sentences in a conjoining relationship, with active predicates (sentences 50 and 51).

(2) It is brought on stage by a time clause containing an active predicate, and kept on stage by two sequence markers in sentences 54 and 55.

(3) The peak consists of three steps without accompanying explanatory sentences; this is in sharp contrast to the peaks of the *Lifon* and *Soyok* rituals, which include long explanatory paragraphs (four sentences and eight sentences long respectively) in their peaks.

(4) Sentence 53 is made more vivid by a nominalized active predicate as a noun substitute.

(5) The dynamicity of sentence 54 is increased first by a sequence particle, then by conjoining two independent clauses with active predicates, and then again by a quotation. Thus sentence 54 becomes a single sentence attributive paragraph.

(6) Sentence 55 is made more dynamic by the use of two sequence particles.

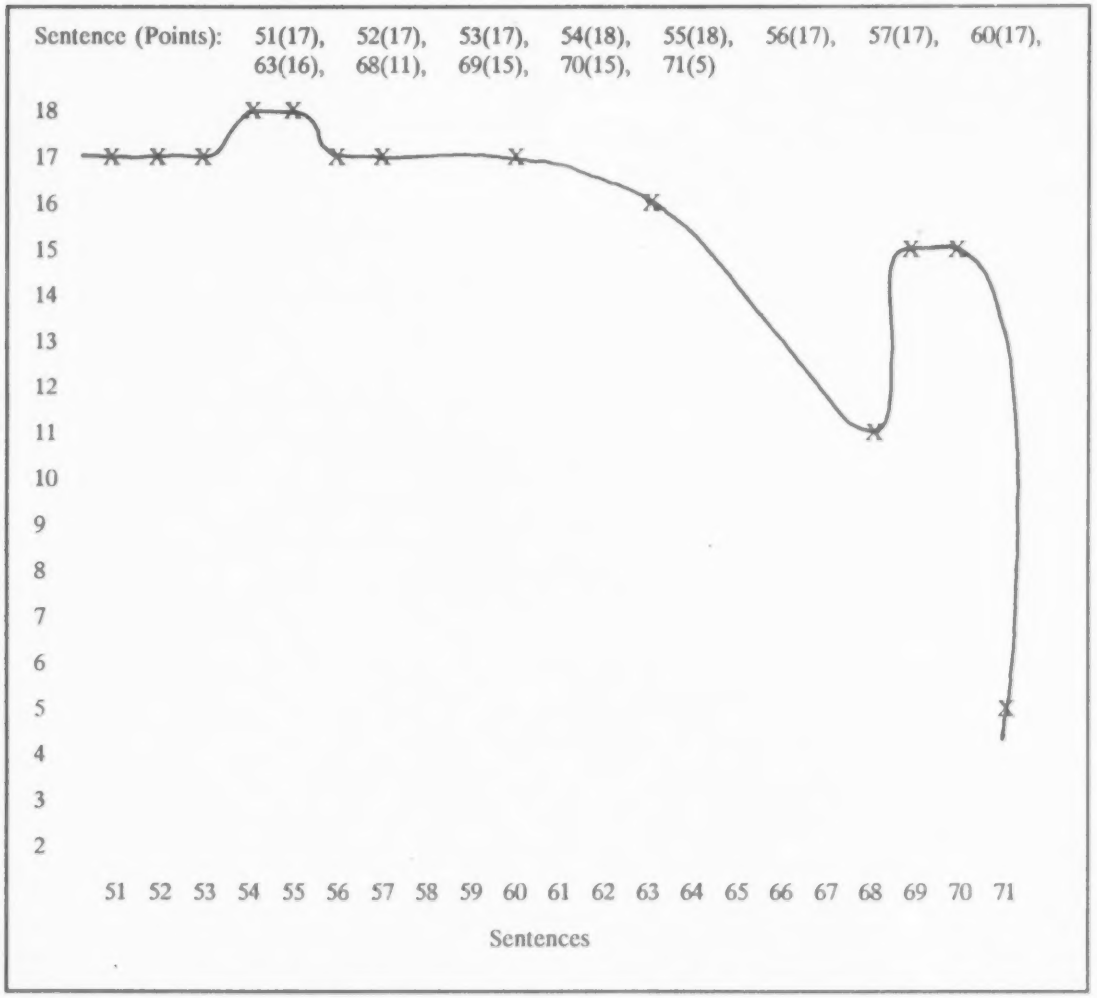

Fig. 46. Transitivity profile of the Apey ritual.

3.3.3.6 Profiles of the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals

In the case of the *Patay* and *Tengaw* profiles, the overall shape of the graphs is similar. However, in the spectrum profile the peak occurs somewhat later than indicated by the transitivity profile. The spectrum profile gives a very low value for sentence 73 (which introduces the *Patay* ritual) and altogether eliminates sentence 75 as a relevant point on the profile, by coordination. However, as high-level sentences they each gain a place on the transitivity profile.

Sentence 79, which says that the people observe the *Tengaw* ritual rest day, is shown to have a lower transitivity than sentence 77, which announces the rest day. On the spectrum profile they share the peak slot (fig. 47). This illustrates Longacre's contention (1981:347-50) that peak is a zone, rather than a single sentence. This spectrum profile correlates with my intuitive feel for what is peak.

Of all the rituals, the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals have the most mundane, uninteresting profiles. This correlates exactly with the feeling one has of lack of tension, or easing off of tension when one reads the accounts of these rituals.

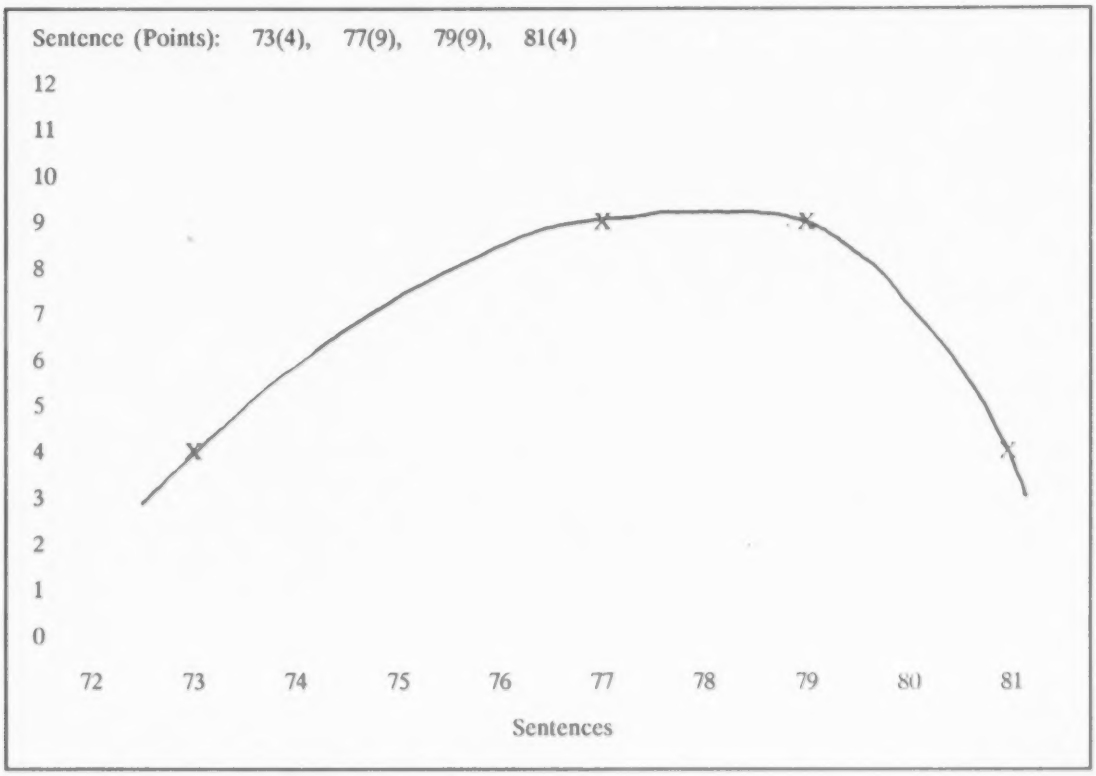

Fig. 47. Spectrum profile of the Patay and Tengaw rituals.

The peak shows the following features:

(1) It is preceded by a pre-step (sentences 73-76). This drawn-out pre-step produces a very slow rise in tension.

(2) It is brought on stage by a time phrase (sentence 77), and kept on stage by a second time phrase (sentence 79).

(3) The peak consists of two steps, each encoded as a paraphrase paragraph (sentences 77-78, 79-80).

(4) The paraphrase of step 1 is made more vivid by an embedded quotation, making sentence 78 into a single sentence attributive paragraph.

(5) The paraphrase of step 2 is made more vivid by a nominalized stative verb in the second item of the existential clause.

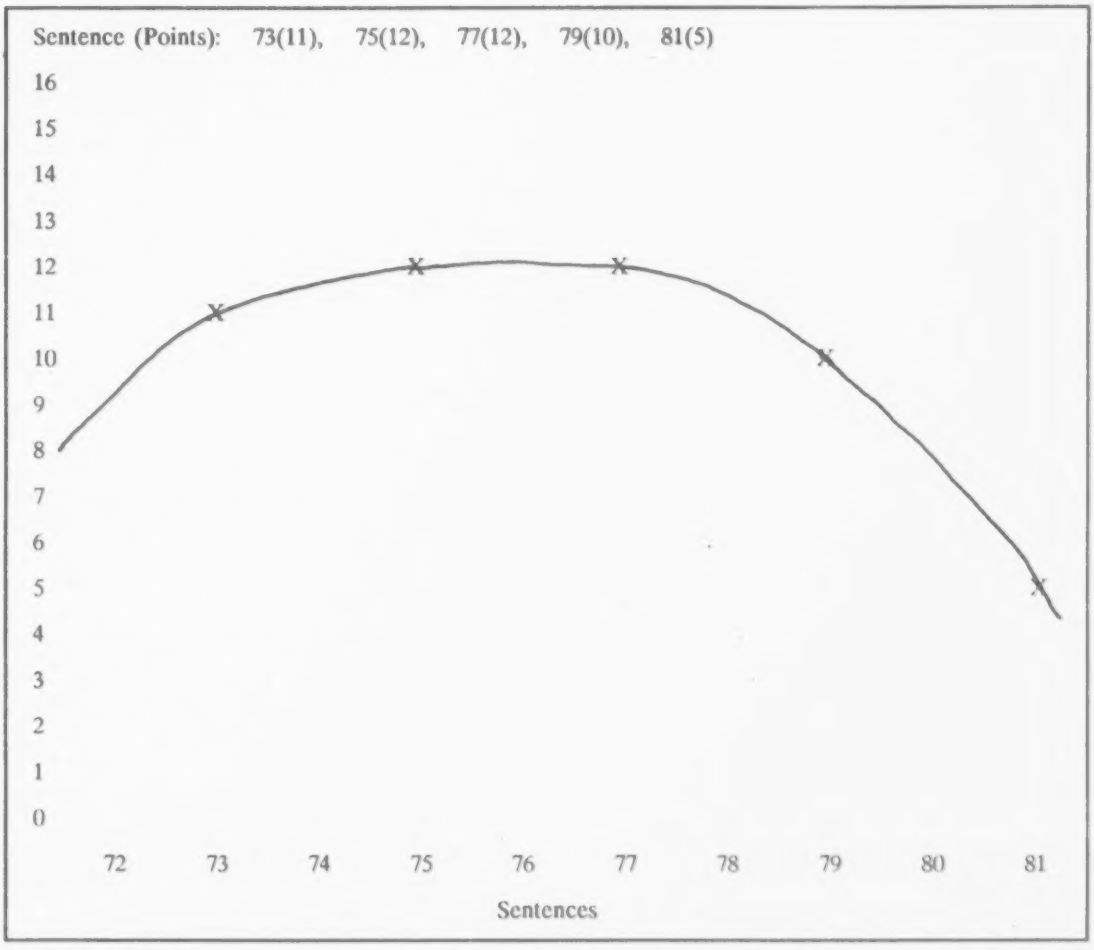

Fig. 48. Transitivity profile of the Patay and Tengaw rituals.

3.3.3.7 Profiles of the CONCLUSION paragraph of the *Innana* text

The CONCLUSION of the *Innana* text is a variety of expository text. Keith Forster (1977:3-6) would call it argumentative discourse, which is expository discourse with tension (see note 3 of chapter 1).

In our view, neither the spectrum profile nor the transitivity profile indicates what is actually going on in the *Innana* text at this point. The spectrum criteria and transitivity criteria are insufficiently delicate in the CONCLUSION. The spectrum for expository discourse needs to become attuned to all the highlighting devices available within equational sentences, and for the transitivity profile relative transitivity and intransitivity need to be distinguished.

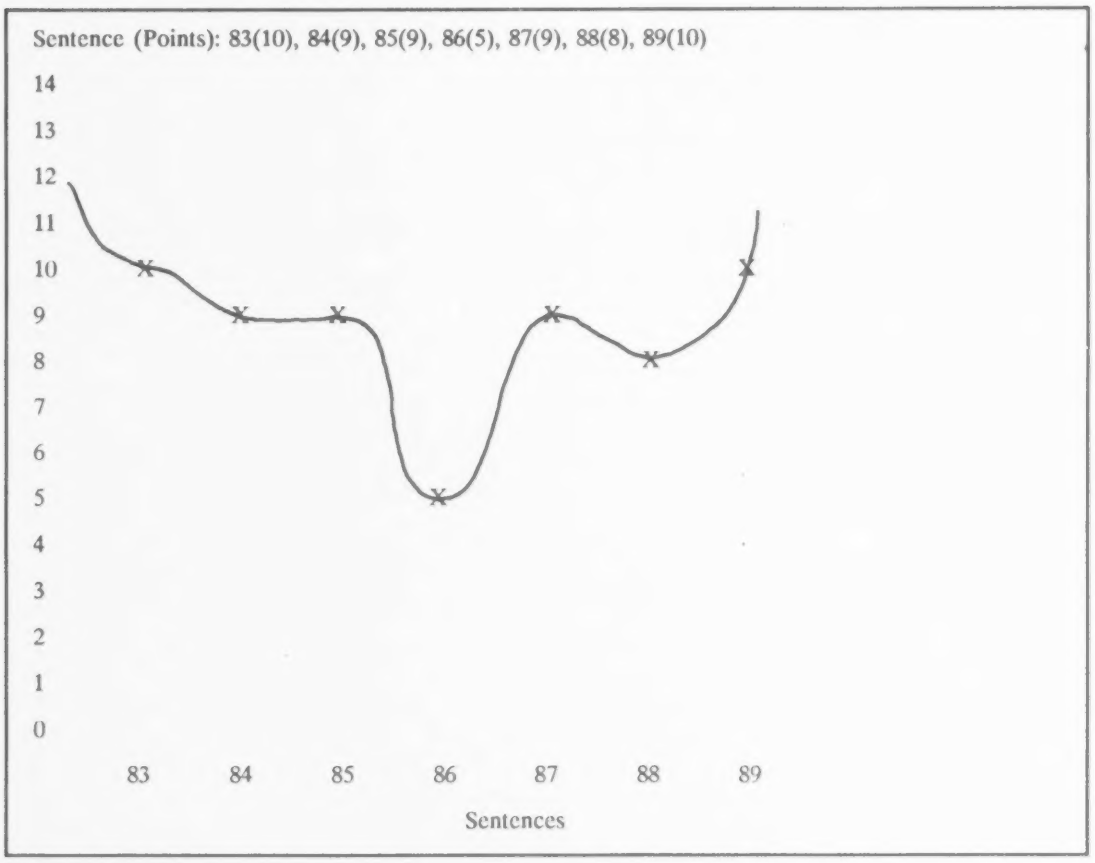

Fig. 49. Paragraph spectrum profile of the CONCLUSION *of the Innana text.*

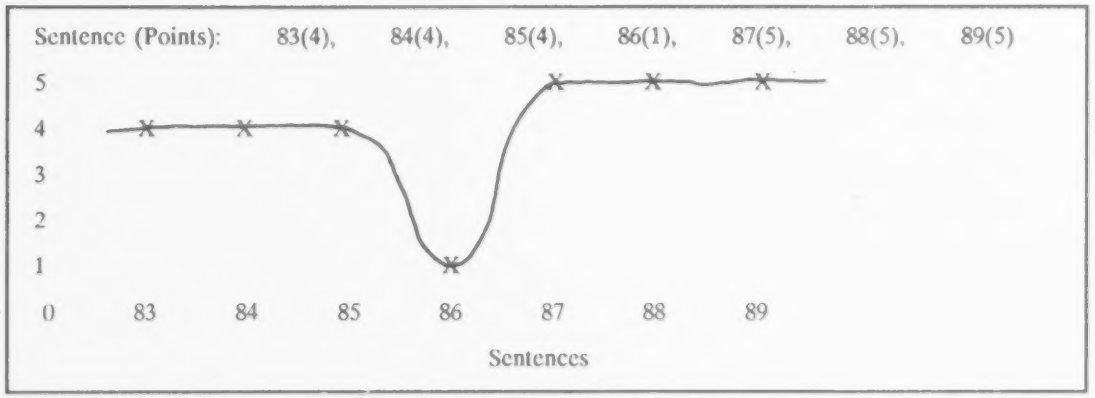

Fig. 50. Paragraph transitivity profile of the CONCLUSION *of the Innana text.*

3.3.4 Spectrum profile versus transitivity profile

In sections 3.3.3.2 to 3.3.3.6 it was demonstrated that both spectrum and transitivity reflect, formally, what we feel intuitively about a text. The transitivity level of the main verb of a sentence correlates with how active and effect-producing a clause is. But it does not take sufficient account of the role of that clause or sentence in the whole discourse—it is not sufficiently context-sensitive. There are times in a discourse where an author has no choice but to use a highly transitive verb for an unimportant action, or a verb of low transitivity for a very important action (see discussion of sentence 36 in 3.3.3.3). Having done that, he can manipulate its impact by a variety of grammatical options such as clefting, fronting of nominals, embedding, etc.

Hopper and Thompson's (1980) development of transitivity is not sufficiently sensitive to these options. The spectrum level of a clause is more context sensitive, and gives a closer correlation with one's intuitive feelings about a text. Part of the strength of this spectrum cline comes from the fact that a new scale is drawn for each discourse type, allowing for genre-sensitive interpretation.

Reid (1967-68:15-28) gave some pointers that would overcome some of the shortcomings of the Hopper-Thompson system, namely that transitivity should be sensitive to context and that in Philippine languages agent/goal/instrument/beneficiary may be inherent within the predicate without being present as a specific nominal phrase. This leads Reid (ibid., 28) to redefine transitivity for Philippine languages: "A transitive clause is one which expresses goal-oriented activity—regardless of whether a formally defined object is present or not." Applying this definition to sentences 51 and 52, we find that in both cases the author has used a verb that is normally goal-focus and given it actor focus! By doing so, he immediately reduces its transitivity (as defined by Reid), making its transitivity level correlate better with our intuitions (and, incidentally, bringing the transitivity profile into line with the spectrum profile).

3.3.5 The spectrum profile of the *Innana* text

The *Innana* text is a coherent whole consisting of explanatory setting, five embedded, chronologically arranged procedural rituals, and an explanatory CONCLUSION. The value of drawing a profile for a text as a whole is that it illustrates pictorially what is going on in the text. It reflects the changes of tension in the text that are part of the coherence system of language. Finally, the profile helps the analyst to isolate the peak-marking grammatical features.

The following profile for the whole *Innana* text takes into account, on the one hand, the spectrum levels of the peak sentences of each section of the text. On the other hand, it reflects some factors not taken into account in the point-scoring system outlined in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2. As will be explained, the *Apey* peak (sec. 3.3.5.2), despite having the same spectrum level as the *Lifon* peak, has a number of features that show it to be far and away the most important ritual. This is seen in figure 51: The *Innana* text has three peaks, the first at the *Lifon* ritual, the second at the *Apey* ritual, and the third at the CONCLUSION.

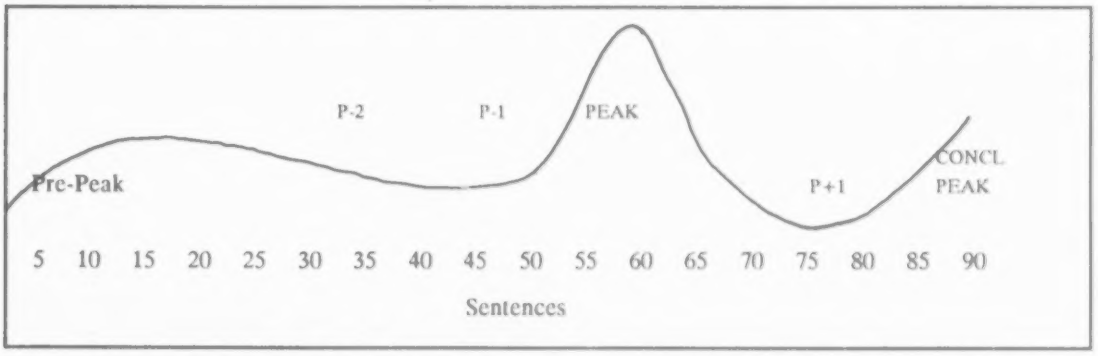

Fig. 51. Spectrum profile of the Innana text (P-1 = Peak - 1, P+1 = Peak + 1, CONCL PEAK = Conclusion Peak).

3.3.5.1 The *Lifon* peak

In terms of the real world, the *Lifon* ritual is what gets the *Innana* rituals going. In terms of focal content, the *Lifon* ritual is the first opportunity the author has to prove that he really can tell the full details of the *Innana* rituals. Having done that in the *Lifon*, he relaxes the tension when he progresses to the *Soyok* and eases off dramatically at the *Mangmang*.

Figure 51 illustrates visually that the *Lifon* is distinguished as a pre-peak from the *Soyok* ritual. The question we need to ask here is, How is the *Lifon* ritual distinguished grammatically from the *Soyok*?

First, the *Lifon* peak is brought on more rapidly than the *Soyok* peak. It has only one pre-step, in contrast to the *Soyok*, which is introduced by an explanatory setting followed by three pre-steps. We know that this is significant by comparison with the *Apey* ritual, the peak of the whole text, which is brought on even more dramatically (see next section).

Second, the *Lifon* ritual exhibits three steps in the ritual, the *Soyok* ritual, two. That this is important is seen by comparison with the *Apey* ritual, which has ten steps, and with the *Mangmang* ritual, which has none. Obviously, the number of steps in a ritual is a guideline as to the importance of the ritual.

The *Lifon* peak is brought on by a time clause, as opposed to the sequence marker at the beginning of the *Soyok* peak. A time clause tends to heighten the dynamism of an active clause (see fig. 29).

The step that encodes the peak in the *Lifon* ritual (sentence 10) includes two potential steps in a coordinate relationship. This compares with the single verb of the main sentence in the *Soyok* peak (sentence 36).

The *Lifon* peak is more punctiliar by being confined to four sentences (sentences 10-13) compared with the more drawn-out peak of the *Soyok* (sentences 35-43).

Using the scale outlined in section 3.3.1, the *Lifon* peak reaches a height of 12 compared with the *Soyok* height of 9.

The transitivity levels of the verbs in the main peak sentence of the *Lifon* are 18 and 17, compared with 12 for the verb of the main peak sentence of the *Soyok*.

	Lifon	*Soyok*
SETTING	-	1
Pre-steps	1	3
Steps	3	2
Heightening device	time clause	sequence marker
Predicate of peak sentence	coordinated active	simple active
Sentences in peak	4	9
Spectrum height	12	9
Transitivity levels	18, 17	12

Fig. 52. Grammatical marking of the Lifon versus the Soyok ritual.

3.3.5.2 The *Apey* peak

The *Apey* is the real-world peak of the *Innana* rituals. It is the ritual around which life revolves at this time of the year. Nothing will induce a Bontoc to be away from home during *Apey*. He will leave happily during *Patay* or *Tengaw*, but not before *Apey*. He will always ask himself, Now let me see, when is *Apey*?

The *Apey* ritual includes the clan fiesta. More importantly, it is believed to guarantee the forthcoming rice crop. This ritual is encoded in sentence 54, the central sentence of the *Apey* peak:

54a. Then they get a *paloki* plant and spit rice wine onto it, saying,

54b. "I spit on you, *paloki*, so that the rice plants will grow tall, so that they will be free from rats, lizards, rice birds, and all that destroy the fields and the rice plants."

How is the *Apey* ritual grammatically marked as the peak of the *Innana* discourse? The following list shows that the grammatical features are many and impressive.

(1) Pre-steps. In contrast to the *Lifon*, *Soyok* and *Tengaw* rituals, the *Apey* has no preparatory steps. Rather, it has an action setting of two sentences in a coordinate relationship. Pre-steps in other rituals are characterized stative verbs, but this action setting has active verbs. The effect of this is that the *Apey* is brought on stage at a higher level of tension than any other ritual.

	Lifon	*Soyok*	*Apey*	*Tengaw*
Setting	-	explanatory	active	-
Pre-step	1	3	-	1

Fig. 53. Relative dynamicity of the build-ups to the Innana procedural rituals.

(2) Number of steps. Of the six *Innana* rituals, two are downgraded. The *Mangmang* is reduced to an expository discourse consisting of a single explanatory paragraph, while the *Patay* ritual is suppressed to become a pre-step for the *Tengaw*. The *Soyok* and the *Tengaw* each have two steps. The *Lifon* ritual has three. All this serves to highlight the importance of the *Apey* ritual with its ten steps—more than all the other rituals together.

	Lifon	*Soyok*	*Mangmang*	*Apey*	*Patay*	*Tengaw*
Steps	3	2	-	10	-	2

Fig. 54. The number of steps in each of the Innana rituals.

Furthermore, whereas the entire *Lifon* has three steps, the *Apey* has three steps in the peak alone; and whereas the four sentences of the *Lifon* peak include three active verbs (two are verbal predicates, and one is nominalized), the three sentences of the *Apey* peak include eleven.

(3) Peak introduction. The *Tengaw* peak is brought on by a time phrase, the *Soyok* by a sequence marker. But both the *Lifon* and *Apey* rituals are introduced by time clauses. These two time clauses warrant further discussion at this point.

Lifon - Sentence 10:

Mo nakhaeb nan totyacha 'When they have reached a decision'

Apey - Sentence 53:

Mo omey cha iska payewcha ay mangapey 'When they go to their rice fields to do the *Apey* ritual'

An analysis of these two time margins shows three ways in which they contrast:

(a) In sentence 10 the time clause is anaphoric;
in sentence 53 the time clause is cataphoric.

(b) In sentence 10 the clause refers back to a pre-step;
in sentence 53 the clause is itself a potential step.

(c) In sentence 10 the predicate of the clause is stative;
in sentence 53 the predicate of the clause is active.

Although both of these time clauses are more dynamic than a time phrase or a simple sequential marker, it is obvious that the time clause of sentence 53 is far more dynamic than that of sentence 10, which in effect is little more than a sequential marker.

(4) Profile peaks. The spectrum profiles of the four major rituals (see figs. 39, 41, 45, 47) show the levels seen in figure 55:

	Lifon	*Soyok*	*Mangmang*	*Apey*	*Tengaw*
Dynamicity of Peak	12	9,9	-	11,12,12	9,9

Fig. 55. Peak dynamicity in the Innana procedural rituals.

Figure 55 alone, if valid, shows the double peak of the *Innana* rituals. It also shows that, whereas the *Lifon* ritual hits a single high point, the *Apey* ritual is able to sustain a high level for three times as long. It is interesting to note that the *Soyok* and *Tengaw* rituals, which are on the downhill side of the two peaks, both sustain a two-sentence peak of equal levels. (Whether or not this vindicates the scale in sec. 3.3.1 I am not sure.)

(5) Peak length. The number of sentences in each peak as well as the number of sentences accorded to each ritual is closely related to peak dynamicity.

	Lifon	*Soyok*	*Mangmang*	*Apey*	*Patay*	*Tengaw*
Peak Sentences	4	9	-	3	-	4
Ritual Sentences	19	17	3	21	4	5

Fig. 56. The number of sentences in peaks and rituals of the Innana text.

The figures for peak sentences show that the *Apey* peak, although highly dynamic and well marked, is short, especially compared with the *Soyok*. Longacre speaks of a peak as being action packed. We have seen this clearly. We also see here that the *Soyok* is important in a different way from the other rituals. This is foreshadowed in the explanatory setting of the *Soyok*. Having described the details of the *Lifon* ritual, the author introduces the *Soyok* by a comparison with the *Lifon*, setting the stage for the *Soyok* to ease off on procedure and to become more explanatory. This explains why the *Soyok* peak is so long—it includes a long explanatory paragraph.

The number of sentences accorded to each ritual reflects their relative importance in the speaker's estimation.

(6) Transitivity. A comparison of the transitivity levels of the peaks again singles out the *Lifon* and *Apey* rituals:

	Lifon	*Soyok*	*Apey*	*Tengaw*
Transitivity	18/17	17/12	17/18/17/18/18	12/10

Fig. 57. Transitivity levels at the peaks of the procedural rituals of the Innana text.

The highest transitivity levels reached in the *Lifon*, *Soyok* and *Apey* are roughly the same, though the most important step of the *Soyok* has a transitivity level of only 12. The most significant aspects of these figures are the consistently high level maintained at the peak of the *Apey*, and the tailing off apparent in the *Tengaw*.

3.3.5.3 The CONCLUSION peak

In her analysis of Halbi narrative, Fran Woods (Longacre 1981:348) suggested the possibility of another peak, the didactic or thematic peak. It is obvious on an intuitive basis that the CONCLUSION of the *Innana* rituals represents a peak of a different kind than that found in the *Apey* ritual. The following grammatical and sociological features may, when more analysis is done on the didactic peaks of a wider corpus of texts, be seen to be significant:

(1) The CONCLUSION is introduced by an equative sentence (83) the equivalent of which we have seen only once elsewhere, in a sentence that was the opening sentence of a real-life hortatory discourse delivered by a speaker who felt under a good deal of pressure (Benn 1979). Equative sentence 83 begins with a nominalized active verb followed by multiple embedding.

(2) Sentences 84 and 85 are both equational with complex nominalized constructions in the second item.

(3) The author uses multiple paragraph embedding and alternates illustration and implication paragraphs to build up to his climax.

(4) Within the explanatory CONCLUSION paragraph the author sets up a real-life situation, the resolution of which, a shattering breakdown in clan unity, is the climax.

(5) The climactic sentence (89), though very active in intent, is equative in form, and includes an attributive paragraph embedded within the comment of the equative predicate.

3.3.6 Coherence

In chapter 2 we saw the contribution that paragraph structure made to the coherence of the *Innana* text. Here in section 3.3 on profile we have seen that, as is typical with all well-spoken or well-written texts, the author uses tension as a tool to manipulate his audience and also to signal to the audience grammatically the relative significance of the semantic information he is imparting at any one time in the discourse. (In a spoken text, a speaker additionally makes free use of intonation, stress, facial expression, and body movements to achieve this.) Thus the profile of a text should have a high level of correlation with focal content and also the information structure of the text.

A profile is a picture of coherence. It visually represents the overall control a speaker exerts via grammatical means on the tension level in the discourse. By means of this manipulation and tension control the author gives the *Innana* text its unity.

Chapter 4

Sequential cohesion

Halliday and Hasan envisage a text as having two properties: cohesion and texture. On the one hand, they see cohesion as a relational concept that allows an author to tie sentences together sequentially (Halliday and Hasan 1976:9, 12):

> Cohesion is a general text-forming relation, or set of such relations, certain of which, when incorporated within a sentence structure, are subject to certain restrictions—no doubt because the grammatical condition of "being a sentence" ensures that the parts go together to form a text anyway.... Cohesion is a relational concept; it is not the presence of a particular class of items that is cohesive, but the relation between one item and another.

On the other hand, they see cohesion as a process. As a speaker builds a text in a real-life situation, he uses cohesion as a process in relating one item to another (ibid., 18-19):

> [There is a] distinction between cohesion as a relation in the system, and cohesion as a process in the text. Cohesion is defined as the set of possibilities that exist in the language for making a text hang together: the potential that the speaker or writer has at his disposal. This is purely a relational concept, and directionality comes into it only if one of the elements in the cohesive relation is by its nature cohesive, in that it is inherently "pointing to" something else.... But cohesion is also a process, in the sense that it is the instantiation of this relation in the text. A text unfolds in real time, and directionality is built into it.

Texture is a more inclusive term than cohesion. Texture refers to all the text-forming elements of a text, of which cohesion is but one (ibid., 298-99):

> Cohesion is a necessary though not a sufficient condition for the creation of text. What creates text is the textual, or text-forming, component of the linguistic system, of which cohesion is one part. The textual component as a whole is the set of resources in a language whose semantic function is that of expressing relationship to the environment.

The three basic components of texture are the theme systems, the information systems, and the structure of discourse (ibid., 325-27).

Halliday and Hasan outline five types of cohesion (ibid., 6, 89): reference, which is semantic; substitution and ellipsis, which are grammatical; lexical cohesion; and conjunction, which is lexicogrammatical. Here in chapter 4 we will look at these five types of cohesive tie within the *Innana* text (Appendix 1) and see how they relate to the divisions within the text. Section 4.1 will deal with referential cohesion, section 4.2 with substitution and ellipsis, section 4.3 with lexical cohesion, and section 4.4 with conjunction, enation, and agnation.

4.1 Referential cohesion

Halliday and Hasan (1976) outline three types of reference: personal, demonstrative, and comparative. Each of these is exemplified in the *Innana* text, though only a small part of the range available to a Bontoc speaker is used in this one text.

4.1.1 Personal reference

Central Bontoc has a range of sixteen subjective pronouns, and eight objective or emphasized pronouns (see Appendix 5). However, very few of these are put to use in the *Innana* text. In fact, participant reference as a cohesive device is very weak.

In narrative discourse participants typically play a prominent role in the orientation and development of the story line. It is usually quite important for the reader to be able to visualize exactly who does what, and why. The *Innana* text participant orientation sharply contrasts with this. It is as if the author is saying, "Look, it doesn't matter who does this. It is the ritual that is important, not the participant." It is as though the author is setting up frames for each of the rituals, the participant slots of which could be filled by a range of individuals. Sometimes the range of individuals is somewhat narrow, for example, the rich people (sentence 9), the old men (sentence 73), or the children (sentence 84). At other times the range is quite wide, for example, the people (sentence 20), the clan (sentence 36), or the villagers (sentence 75). At other times again, although the range is obviously limited, the actual group of people who perform the action is unspecified. This is particularly true in the *Apey* ritual where the actual participants of many actions are nonspecific.

There are three ways, then, in which participant reference in the *Innana* text contrasts with what we would expect in narrative: connection of reference item to antecedent; disambiguation of participants; and frequency of personal reference.

4.1.1.1 Connection of reference item to antecedent

In a narrative it is imperative that a hearer/reader know exactly who does what, in order to keep track of the story. So if 'they' is used, it must be clear to whom 'they' refers. In the *Innana* text the identity of a participant is frequently very general. We understand this to be part of the author's script-writing goal, which is to show the reader what ingredients contribute to the performance of a ritual. It is not his goal to show who does what. For example, in sentence 51 we have five third person plural pronominal items:

51. Omala ***cha*** *issan inasinancha ay pasingcha paymo finingitcha*
get they NFM salt.their LK share.their or distribute.their
issan Lifon paymo issan Soyok is iyapeycha.
NFM Lifon or NFM Soyok NFM do.Apey.they

51. **They** get **their** (uncooked) share that **they** have salted or **their** distributed share from the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, to do the *Apey* ritual.

What is the antecedent of the first 'they' in this sentence? The last people mentioned (in sentence 48) were those who had *not* contributed a pig for either the *Lifon* or the *Soyok* ritual. If the 'they' of sentence 51 refers only to them, then it implies that those who did contribute a pig are to be excluded from the ritual which begins in sentence 51, the most important of all the *Innana* rituals!

Again, in sentence 68:

68. Isnan kawaksana ***encha*** *mangachiw.*
NFM tomorrow.time.its go.they catch.fish

68. On the morrow **they** go to catch fish.

Who are the people who go fishing in this sentence? The apparent antecedents would be the rich people of sentence 66. But the context precludes this identification.

4.1.1.2 Disambiguation of participants

Closely related to the correct identification of the antecedent is the set of devices a speaker uses to keep his participants apart. In narrative, if there are two men involved, the author may resort either to the use of lexical connection, for example, 'the singer', or to substitution, for example, 'the other one', to keep the participants clear. But in the *Innana* text there is no such attempt. For example, in sentence 63:

63. Mo kinonfoscha ay nangapey isnan kapayepayewcha,
if finish.they LK do.Apey NFM LOC,rice.field,PL,their
isaacha nan inyapeycha isnan afong ay manganancha.
go.home.they FM do.Apey.they NFM house LK eating.time.their

63. When **they** have finished the *Apey* ritual in the rice fields, **they** bring home the meat used in the ritual to the house where **they** will eat.

The first, third, and fourth occurrences of the third person plural pronoun *cha*, refer to those who went to the rice field. The second refers to rice field owners (who may or may not be coexistent with group one), and the last reference is to those who meet together at night—perhaps the extended family or the whole clan.

The preceding three examples, sentences 51, 68, and 63, illustrate a somewhat extreme example of what Grimes (1975:104) wrote: "The point to remember about casts of characters is that a group may vary in membership and still be the same group for purposes of linguistic reference." In the *Innana* text the precise composition of a group is less important than the script which the author is writing for the ritual as a whole, and so participant reference is not a strong cohesive force in the discourse.

4.1.1.3 Frequency of personal reference

Analyses of participant reference of narratives typically show that for each participant there is a series of pronominal (and other) references which together form a number of reference chains (according to the number of participants or groups of participants in the text). These often give strong cohesive ties. In contrast, the participant reference chains of the *Innana* text are almost nonexistent, although this text displays a vast array of participants (mainly minor). We understand this to be in line with the author's goal of writing ritual-specific scripts. This being so, it is fascinating to note that when the author comes to the *Apey* ritual, where tension is at its peak, he drops all participant noun phrases and switches completely to the impersonal third person pronoun 'they' throughout the ritual. This is illustrated in figure 58, where each X represents a pronominal reference back to its antecedent. In the *Apey* ritual there is no noun phrase antecedent, and every reference other than the two in brackets is a third person plural pronoun.

In other words, the *Innana* rituals are action oriented, with the result that verbs predominate. These verbs in turn activate culturally oriented scripts that call upon file-type information generally understood by anyone familiar with the Bontoc way of life. These scripts supply the generic identities of the participants in the various roles related to the verb. Hence in sentence 68, the verb activates a fishing script in which the cultural file associated with that script dictates who it is that goes fishing.

It is clear from figure 58 that the only real cohesive chain is the one which includes a wide variety of participants (clan, household, rich), and which is, as we have already seen in sentences 51, 63, and 68, very nonspecific.

However, when we look at the distribution of personal reference in the *Innana* text, some interesting correlations emerge (see fig. 59).

> A comparison here reveals two striking contrasts: First, although the SETTING and CONCLUSION are both explanatory, they differ sharply in the frequency of personal reference items. Second, the *Apey* ritual shows several times as many personal referents per sentence as any other procedural ritual.

Personal reference, then, is not an important cohesive tie in the *Innana* text, but it does have a correlation with higher-level factors in the text.

	Sentence	Reference Items
SETTING sentences 1-5	5	I
EXPLANATION		
Introduction sentence 6	6	xx
The *Lifon* Ritual	9	rich
sentences 7-26	10	xxxx
	14	xx
	20	people
	26	x
The *Soyok* Ritual	29	x
sentences 27-44	31	xxx
	32	x
	34	x
	35	xx
	36	clan/household
	40	x
	41	x
The *Mangmang* Ritual	46	people
sentences 45-49	47	xxx
The *Apey* Ritual	51	xxxxx
sentences 50-71	52	xx
	53	xxxx
	54	xx (I)
	55	xxx
	56	xx
	57	xx
	58	xxx
	59	(his)
	60	xx
	61	xx
	62	xx
	63	xxxxx
	68	x
	69	xxx
	70	xxx
The *Tengaw* Ritual	73	old men
sentences 72-81	74	x
	77	children
	78	x
	79	people
		sentence 6
	81	x |
CONCLUSION	83	| I
sentences 82-89	84	| children
	85	| x
	86	| xx
	87	| a person
	89	xx x (you x 2)

Fig. 58. Participant reference in the Innana text.

SETTING	0.25
Lifon ritual	0.22
Soyok ritual	0.74
Mangmang ritual	1.00
Apey ritual	2.10
Tengaw ritual	0.38
CONCLUSION	1.33

Fig. 59. Personal reference items per sentence in the Innana text.

4.1.2 Demonstrative reference

Halliday and Hasan (1976) describe three types of demonstrative reference: demonstrative pronouns, determiners, and circumstantial demonstratives. Two types of demonstrative reference are seen in the *Innana* text: case-marking particles and demonstrative pronouns.

4.1.2.1 Case-marking particles

Reid (1964) describes twenty different case-marking particles and particle combinations for Bontoc. Thirteen of these, of which seven are present in the *Innana* text, have an overtly anaphoric role.

	Topic-marking and possessive case-marking particles		Nonfocus case-marking particles	
nan	*nan*	*	*is*	*
	nan si		*isnan*	*
	nan cha		*issan*	*
			is ken	
			is ken cha	
san	*san*	*	*ken*	*
	san si		*ken cha*	*
	san cha			
-n	*-n*			
	-n nan	*		
	-n san	*		
	-n si	*		
	-n cha			
si		*		
cha		*		

*Fig. 60. Bontoc case-marking particles (* present in the Innana text).*

The topic marker *nan* is by far the most frequent single anaphoric device in the *Innana* text. There are 110 uses of *nan* in 84 sentences, which is an average of 1.3 per sentence over the whole text.

In an excellent article on the distinction between old and new information, Ellen Prince (1979) outlined seven categories of information in language, ranging from brand new unanchored through brand new anchored, inferrable to evoked (see Appendix 4). Of these seven categories, only one, brand new unanchored, cannot be assigned a topic-marking particle *nan* on its first mention in a text, unless it is introduced via an existential. (See also Wendel and Hale 1979 on this.)

One of the meanings inherent in topic-marking and possessive particles is that of definiteness. This does not mean that entities marked with nonfocus case-marking particles are indefinite, or new; it simply means that at that point in the discourse their state of definiteness is not marked. For this reason the topic-marking particle *nan* as an anaphoric cohesive device is quite weak.

However, there is a way of increasing the cohesive effect of the case-marking particle *nan*, and that is to replace it with its anaphoric equivalent, *san*. We can even make the nonfocus particle *isnan* cohesive by replacing it with its anaphoric equivalent, *issan*, which is, of course, definite. The five anaphoric case-marking particles of Central Bontoc are shown in figure 61.

Topic-marking and Possessive	*san*	*
	-n san	*
	san si	
	san cha	
Nonfocus-marking	*issan*	*

*Fig. 61. Anaphoric case-marking particles (* present in the Innana text).*

Sentence 47 illustrates several of the case-marking particles:

47. San cheychay naala paymo nakhekhed nan fotogcha issan Lifon
FM those,LK take or divide FM pig.their NFM Lifon

paymo issan Soyok et itkemcha kannay san olon san nailifon
or NFM Soyok CONJ add.they immediately FM head POSS for.Lifon

paymo naisoyok ay fotogcha.
or for.Soyok LK pig.their

47. **Those** who butchered **their** pigs for **the** *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, cook **the** head of **their** *Lifon* pig or *Soyok* pig together with **the** chicken.

The case-marking particles illustrated in sentence 47 are:

(1) ***san cheycha***: anaphoric topic-marking particle

(2) ***nan fotogcha***: topic-marking particle

(3) ***issan Lifon/issan Soyok***: anaphoric nonfocus-marking particles

(4) ***san olon***: anaphoric topic-marking particle

(5) ***-n san nailifon***: anaphoric possessive marker

The closing words of sentence 2 illustrate the possessive use of ***-n nan***:

2. ... Fontok, Samoki ya nan tapi-n nan kafakhaang.
Bontoc Samoki and FM rest POSS village

2. ... Bontoc, Samoki, and the other villages.

Sentence 29 illustrates the possessive use of *-n si*:

29. In-ala chas fotog magtek nan Soyok kwan si
get they,NFM pig but FM Soyok belong POSS
katakhotakho.
total.population

29. They butcher pigs, but the *Soyok* ritual is for all the people.

4.1.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

In Bontoc there are eighteen demonstrative pronouns or pronoun combinations (see Appendix 6), which sometimes occur in combination with emphasized pronouns. Those which occur in the *Innana* text are charted in figure 62.

Near Speaker	Set I	sg plural	*nay* *nay cha*
	Set III	sg plural	*na* *chana*
Neither near Speaker nor Hearer	Set I	sg plural	*chey* *cheycha*
	Set III	sg	*chi*

Fig. 62. Demonstrative pronouns in the Innana text.

Set III pronouns are used only in conjunction with emphasized pronouns. Moreover, they play a different role in discourse than do set I demonstrative pronouns, as we shall see.

Set I demonstrative pronouns:

The near-speaker set I demonstrative pronouns *nay* and *nay cha* are used when the item being referred to occurs in or is highly relevant to the sentence immediately preceding the one in which the demonstrative occurs. This is analogous to the actual conversational use in which the item is near the speaker. For example, 'pig' in sentence 74 is referred to as 'this pig' in sentence 75:

74. Ipataycha nan fotog nan pomapatay iska Papatayan.
do.Patay.they FM pig POSS sacred.tree.guardian LOC sacred.tree

74. They kill for the *Patay* ritual the **pig** of the one who has responsibility for the sacred tree, at the sacred tree.

75. Nan nay fotog et, maiyob-ofan isnan omili.
FM this pig CONJ contribute NFM village

75. **This pig** will be paid for by contributions from the village people.

In a wide variety of other Bontoc texts, the near-speaker set I demonstratives have three uses:

(1) They may refer to something in the immediately preceding sentence (43%).

(2) They may refer to the whole of the text, or to a local situation being described within the text (43%).

(3) They may refer to the forthcoming text, a cataphoric use (14%).

The neither-near-speaker-nor-hearer set I demonstrative pronouns *chey* and *cheycha* are used in three different ways in the *Innana* text. First, when they are used in conjunction with the topic-marking and possessive particle *nan*, they refer to an item in the second sentence back from the one in which the demonstrative occurs. For example, in sentence 17 *chey* refers back to sentence 15:

17. Isnan maschem nan chey ay Lifon, mangan chay kakachangyan.
NFM night POSS that LK Lifon eat they,LK rich.person,PL

17. The night of **that** *Lifon* ritual, the rich eat.

Second, when these demonstratives are used in conjunction with the anaphoric topic-marking particle *san*, they refer back even further in the text. For example, in sentence 47, the demonstrative refers back to sentences 10, 13, 32, and 34:

47. San cheychay naala paymo nakhekhed nan fotogcha issan Lifon
FM those,LK take or divide FM pig.their NFM Lifon

paymo issan Soyok et itkemcha kannay san olon san nailifon
or NFM Soyok CONJ add.they immediately FM head POSS for.Lifon

paymo naisoyok ay fotogcha.
or for.Soyok LK pig.their

47. **Those** who butchered their pigs for the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, cook the head of their *Lifon* pig or *Soyok* pig together with the chicken.

These findings are generally reinforced by recourse to a wider corpus of text. However, the demonstrative pronouns *chey* and *cheycha* (without *san*) can refer back more than two sentences, especially if the item being referred to is highly thematic.

Third, in contrast to these two uses, if the demonstrative is used in conjunction with a nonfocus marker, it refers to the immediately preceding sentence. For example, in sentence 36, the demonstrative refers back to sentence 35:

36. Isnan chey ay maschem si Soyok, mangan nan maam-among ay
NFM that LK night POSS Soyok eat FM gather LK

sinpangapo paymo sinpangafong.
clan or household

36. **That** night of the *Soyok* ritual, the clan or household who are gathered eat together.

This use of *chey* is also confirmed in a wider corpus of texts.

There is another use of these set I neither-near-speaker-nor-hearer demonstratives not illustrated in the *Innana* text, but which, in other texts, accounts for approximately 70 percent of their use, that is, when a demonstrative is required which is either purely exophoric or has strong exophoric overtones, but a weak intratextual antecedent.

Set III demonstrative pronouns:

In the *Innana* text, set III demonstrative pronouns are used in conjunction with the third person singular emphasized pronoun *siya*. The combination *siyana*, which is a set III near-speaker demonstrative, is used twice, each time in a summary statement. Sentence 82 is the closure of the *Innana* rituals, and sentence 90 is the final CLOSURE of the whole discourse (see fig. 16 in chapter 2):

82. Siyana nan Tengaw ay anongos nan Innana.
this FM Tengaw LK end POSS Innana

82. **That** is the *Tengaw* ritual, which is the end of the *Innana* rituals.

90. Siyana nan tet-ewa ay on-on nan Innana.
this FM truth LK detail POSS Innana

90. **Those** are the true details of the *Innana* rituals.

The other set III near-speaker demonstrative combination *siya chana* is used only once, where it refers to the immediately preceding sentence:

32. Siya chana nan madpap nan fotogcha idwanin.
this these FM catch FM pig.their now

32. **They** are the ones to contribute (lit., catch) their pigs this time.

These two uses of the set III near-speaker demonstratives occur in other texts. These uses are also supported by analogy to the use of set I near-speaker demonstratives previously described.

The third combination, *siya chi*, which is a set II neither-near- speaker-nor-hearer demonstrative, is used twice in the *Innana* text. Each time it refers back to a situation within the same sentence. For example, in sentence 19, the demonstrative combination refers to the initial conditional clause:

*19. Mo akit nan maamong, **siya chi** nan kananchan, "Sinalikhebkheb".*
if few FM gather this that FM say.they,QF exclusive

19. If there are only a few who gather, it is called "an exclusive group".

Again, in a wider corpus of text material we find that the exophoric use of the set III neither-near-speaker-nor-hearer demonstratives predominates. Where these demonstratives are not exophoric, they tend to refer to the immediately preceding proposition—whether across a sentence boundary or within the same sentence.

Demonstrative pronouns are one of the factors which give cohesion to the *Innana* text. One type gives cohesion only within a single sentence. Four demonstrative pronoun combinations give cohesion with the sentence immediately preceding the one in which the demonstrative occurred. Two other types give anaphoric cohesion with sentences once removed from that in which the demonstrative occurs, while the combination of an anaphoric topic-marker with a demonstrative pronoun gives cohesion with material further back in the text. And finally, one type of demonstrative pronoun combination functions in summary sentences referring to a large portion of text.

Future work on demonstrative pronouns is likely to show that they also play a role on the discourse level in conjunction with theme and information structure.

4.1.3 Comparative reference

Intersentential comparative reference and paragraph structure are closely related in that both catalogue a close semantic relationship between two adjacent sentences. Halliday and Hasan (1976:76ff.) discuss five relationships that constitute comparative reference: identity, similarity, difference, numerative, and epithet. In English, each of these can be positive or negative, between sentences, or within a single sentence.

4.1.3.1 Identity

When a relationship of identity exists between sentences, we have not only comparative reference, but a deictic paragraph. For example, sentence 32 is the identity of the people in sentence 31:

Deictic Paragraph 31, Text:

31. Matotyacha nan sinpangapo paymo nan sinpangafong mo sino ken
discuss.they FM clan or FM household if who NFM

chaicha nan eg-ay kaala nan walakcha, id tawen.
them FM not bring FM share.their last year

31. The clan or household discuss who among them did not make their contribution last year.

Deictic Paragraph 32, Identification:

32. Siya chana nan madpap nan fotogcha idwanin.
this these FM catch FM pig.their now

32. They are the ones to contribute (lit., catch) their pigs this time.

4.1.3.2 Similarity

Sentences 28-30 illustrate both positive and negative similarity between sentences, and similarity within a sentence. Sentence 28 shows similarity within a sentence, sentences 28-29 similarity across sentences, and sentences 29-30 negative similarity across sentences. Sentences 28-30 together make up an illustration paragraph:

Illustration Paragraph 28, Text:

28. Nan Soyok kaagna nan Lifon.
FM Soyok like.it FM Lifon

28. The *Soyok* ritual is similar to the *Lifon* ritual.

Exemplification Paraphrase Paragraph 29, Text:

29. In-ala chas fotog magtek nan Soyok kwan si
get they,NFM pig but FM Soyok belong POSS
katakhotakho.
total.population

29. They butcher pigs, but the *Soyok* ritual is for all the people.

Illustration Paragraph 30, Amplification:

30. Ad-i kag nan Lifon ay kwan yangkhay si kakachangyan.
not like FM Lifon LK belong only POSS rich.person,PL

30. It is not like the *Lifon* ritual, which is only for the rich.

4.1.3.3 Numerative and difference

Numerative comparative reference includes such relationships as more, less, and additional. Difference comparative reference includes other, different, otherwise.

Sentences 40-42 illustrate these two relationships. Sentence 41 is in an additional relationship to sentence 40, and sentence 42 a difference relationship with both 40 and 41. Together sentences 40-42 form a conjoining paragraph:

Conjoining Paragraph 40, Item 1:

40. Miwatwat nan sibfancha yangkhay.
share FM viand.their only

40. Only meat to be eaten is distributed.

Conjoining Paragraph 41, Compared Item 2:

41. Magtek wad-ay nan kasin maiwalas ay naoto ay pasing isnan
but there.is FM again share LK cook LK share NFM
malpasanchay manganan.
finish.time.their,LK eating.time

41. But there is also a distribution of cooked pieces, after they have finished eating.

Conjoining Paragraph 42, Compared Item 3:

42. Teken akhes nan kasin maiwalas ay inlangta ay pasing.
different also FM again share LK raw LK share

42. There is also a different distribution of raw pieces.

4.1.3.4 Epithet

Epithets are comparative adjectives and adverbs. The *Innana* text does not make use of this device to effect cohesion within the text, but sentence 2 has an exophoric epithet which gives coherence between the text and the Bontoc culture. Here the author makes a comparison between the *Innana* rituals and all other Bontoc rituals:

2. Nan Innana, esa ay ***kakhawisan*** *ay ekhad id sangad-om ay*
FM Innana one LK very.good LK custom at long.ago LK

mawanwaned idwanin isnan ili ay Fontok, Samoki ya nan tap-in
inherit now NFM village LK Bontoc Samoki and FM rest

nan kafakhaang.
POSS village

2. The *Innana*, it is one of the **best customs** of long ago handed down to the people of Bontoc, Samoki, and the other villages.

Comparative reference is not a major item in the author's strategy of giving cohesion to the text. On the intersentential level it works in harmony with paragraph structure, and gives a new insight to the semantic properties and contributions of the sentences involved.

4.2 Substitution and ellipsis

Substitution and ellipsis are closely related types of grammatical cohesion. In substitution one item is replaced by another; in ellipsis an item is replaced by zero.

In this study we deal with substitution and ellipsis together, first because they are closely related, and second because there is a suggestion that in the two peak rituals the author has tended to use substitution and ellipsis exclusively. In the *Lifon* ritual he has used substitution and, for the most part, avoided the use of ellipsis, and vice versa in the *Apey* ritual. (See sec. 4.2.3 for the possible significance of this.)

4.2.1 Substitution

Halliday and Hasan's classification (1976:90ff.) of three types of substitution—nominal, verbal, and clausal—are not easy to apply in Central Bontoc. In the *Innana* text, for example, each of the eleven examples of substitution are used in nominal situations. But within these nominal situations, we have three distinct types of substitution which are analogous to nominal, verbal, and clausal substitution. In other words, each of the following occurs within nominal phrases: (1) noun substitution; (2) substitution for a nominal plus a relative clause; and (3) clause substitution.

4.2.1.1 Noun substitution

In sentence 33 we have 'one' substituted for 'person':

33. Mo nan walak nan ***esa*** *ay maala ya inmawas et matokachan*
if FM share POSS one LK take and excessive CONJ compensate

is fan-ig ay fotog paymo siping.
NFM small LK pig or money

33. If the pig contributed by **one** person is bigger than his share, the excess of the contribution is replaced by a small pig or money.

Similarly, in sentence 48 'the others' substitutes for 'people':

48. Nan ***tapina*** *itkemcha san pasingcha paymo san finingitcha*
FM other.its add.they FM share.their or FM distribution.their

issan Soyok.
NFM Soyok

48. **The others** add their (uncooked) share or their distributed share from the *Soyok* ritual.

4.2.1.2 Substitution for a nominal plus a relative clause

The following examples are close to the borderline between substitution and ellipsis. We have termed them substitution because to add the nominal which is elided would introduce unnecessary and awkward redundancy. Halliday and Hasan (1976:144) note that 'there is a sense of incompleteness' associated with ellipsis. But since that is not the case here, we have classified these examples as substitution.

In sentence 10 *nan ilifoncha* 'the for *Lifon* their' substitutes for 'the pigs to be butchered for the Lifon ritual':

10. Mo nakhaeb nan totyacha, enchat alaen nan
if made FM discussion.their go.they,PART get FM

ilifoncha et khekhechencha isnan afob-ong nan chey ninkwa
for.Lifon.their CONJ divide.they NFM house,PL POSS those owner

isnan fotog ay milifon.
POSS pig LK for.Lifon

10. When they have reached a decision, they will go to get **what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual** and they will cut it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual.

Similarly, sentence 11 has *nan maala* 'the to be taken' substituted for 'the sections of the meat to be distributed':

11. Mafingit nan maala.
share FM take

11. **The sections of the meat to be distributed** are shared out.

Notice that in each case, the verb that would appear in the relative clause is used as the substitute. These verbs carry with them their adjuncts. For example, in sentence 12 the negative adjunct is retained:

12. Nan ad-i mafingit maiskhep is afong.
FM not share put.inside NFM house

12. **What is not to be distributed** is put inside the house.

4.2.1.3 Clause substitution

There is one occurrence, in sentence 59, of a generic verb, *maosal* 'also uses', substituting for the lengthy embedded construction that appears within a nominal group in the previous sentence.

58. Isnan esay payew esay paloki nan isokfitcha iska
NFM one,LK rice.field one,LK paloki FM insert.they LOC

topingna paymo sipitencha isnan lolo sachat ipadsek.
rock.wall.its or wedge.they NFM stick then.they,PART embed

58. In each rice field they **insert one stem of *paloki* between the stones of the rock wall, or wedge it into a (split) stick and embed** it in the rice field.

59. Mo sinpoo nan payewna et sinpoo akhes ay paloki nan
if ten FM rice.field.his PART ten also LK paloki FM

maosal.
use

59. If he has ten rice fields, **he also uses** ten *paloki*.

4.2.2 Ellipsis

Of the thirteen cases of ellipsis in the *Innana* text, five occur within sentences and are subject to grammatical constraints. They give cohesion within the sentence, but since intrasentence cohesion is not our focus, they will not be discussed here.

Several of the instances of ellipsis in the *Innana* text are elision of the topic in topic-comment equational clauses. For example, in sentence 30 the topic, *nan Soyok* 'the *Soyok* ritual', is omitted. This is one type of nominal ellipsis:

30. Ad-i kag nan Lifon ay kwan yangkhay si kakachangyan.
not like FM Lifon LK belong only POSS rich.person,PL

30. It is not like the *Lifon* ritual, which is only for the rich.

A second type of nominal ellipsis occurs in sentences 61 and 62, where the focused nominal group, *nan manok* 'the chicken', is three times omitted, twice in sentence 61 and once in sentence 62:

61. Faikhencha sachat lakhiman ya sepwaken nan manok.
beat.they then.they,PART burn and section FM chicken

61. They kill the chicken, then burn the feathers and butcher it.

62. Otowencha, magtek kecheng nan fitli ya nan potona nan
cook.they but only FM gizzard and FM intestine.its FM
sibfancha id ilit.
viand.their at outside

62. They cook it, but it is only the gizzard and its intestines that they eat outside the village.

And finally, in sentence 88 of the CONCLUSION of the *Innana* text, when tension is running high, there is ellipsis of a whole clause. All that is left in this sentence is a topicalized temporal phrase and an adjunct:

88. Nan pay katawetawen!
FM again year,PL

88. How about for other years!

4.2.3 Substitution, ellipsis, and the text as a whole

Both substitution and ellipsis, but especially ellipsis, produce strong cohesive ties within a text. When we evaluate the incidence of these two types of cohesive link in the *Innana* text, it seems clear that in the two most prominent rituals the author has used them systematically.

	Substitution	Ellipsis
SETTING	0	0
Lifon ritual	8	0(1)
Soyok ritual	1	1
Mangmang ritual	1	0
Apey ritual	2	6(4)
Tengaw ritual	0	0
CONCLUSION	1	1

Fig. 63. The incidence of substitution and ellipsis in the Innana text. (Parenthetical numbers indicate ellipsis that is anaphoric only within a single sentence.)

In the *Lifon* ritual, which is the minor peak of the rituals, the author chooses to use substitution almost exclusively, whereas in the *Apey* ritual, which is the main ritual, he almost ignores substitution and uses ellipsis instead. Thus substitution and ellipsis emerge not only as strong cohesive links which the author uses to tie the sentences together but as subsidiary devices for indicating tension within the text. In other words, substitution and ellipsis contribute not only to text cohesion, but also to text coherence.

4.3 Lexical cohesion

Repetition of lexical items in adjacent sentences of a text helps to establish the relationship between the sentences. This cohesive effect can also be achieved by the use of synonyms, near-synonyms, more or less generic terms, or other members of the same co-occurrence class. The cohesive effect is weakened, however, if a lexical item is repeated in nonadjacent sentences, and if the second occurrence of a lexical item is not co-referent with the first.

In discussing lexical cohesion we will conform to the division adapted from Halliday and Hasan (1976:288), as seen in figure 64.

1 Repetition
- (a) same word
  - (i) lexical repetition
  - (ii) lexical reiteration of the root
- (b) equivalent
  - (i) synonym
  - (ii) near-synonym
- (c) superordinate
  - (i) generic-specific/specific-generic
  - (ii) whole-part/part-whole
  - (iii) co-membership
- (d) general word

2 Collocation

Fig. 64. Types of lexical cohesion.

4.3.1 Repetition

Repetition is by far the most important type of lexical cohesion in the *Innana* text. It is not only more frequent, but more structured. In the whole *Innana* text, there are over two hundred repetitions of lexical items, synonyms, etc.—an average of about 2.6 per sentence.

4.3.1.1 Same word repetition

In Philippine languages words are repeated either in part or in whole. For convenience we have divided these into two types: (1) lexical repetition, where a word is repeated exactly; and (2) lexical reiteration of the root, where the root is repeated with different affixation. Sentences 73 and 74 perfectly illustrate lexical reiteration of the root, where the root *patay* is used in four different ways:

	Across two sentences/sentence	Across more than two sentences/sentence
SETTING	2.0	2.5
Lifon ritual	0.5	1.22
Soyok ritual	1.0	1.75
Mangmang ritual	0.3	3.66
Apey ritual	1.1	2.05
Tengaw ritual	1.0	1.125
CONCLUSION	1.0	1.33

Fig. 65. Same word repetition per sentence in the Innana text.

*73. **Mamatay** ona nan amam-a.*
do.Patay first FM old.man,PL

73. The old men first perform the ***Patay*** **ritual.**

*74. **Ipataycha** nan fotog nan **pomapatay** iska **Papatayan.***	74. They **kill** for the ***Patay*** **ritual** the pig of the one who has responsibility for the sacred tree, at the **sacred tree**.
do.Patay.they FM pig POSS sacred.tree.guardian LOC sacred.tree	

Taken in conjunction with other facts about the *Innana* text, the numbers in figure 65 become significant. The three things worthy of note at this point are:

(1) The SETTING, which is explanatory, shows a much greater degree of same word lexical repetition than does the CONCLUSION, which is also explanatory. The SETTING is expository text minus tension, whereas the CONCLUSION is expository plus tension. We expect that further research on this division within the genre of expository discourse will illustrate the role lexical cohesion plays in differentiating the two subtypes.

(2) The *Apey* ritual, which is procedural, shows a greater frequency of same word lexical repetition than do the other procedural rituals. Halliday and Hasan (1976:288-92) argue that the use of lexical cohesion in a language is systematic and patterned. Our analysis of cohesion illustrates that the author of the *Innana* text has indeed chosen to distinguish between the various rituals on the grounds of lexical cohesion and other types of cohesion as well.

(3) The *Mangmang* ritual, which is, in contrast to the other rituals, cast in an explanatory mode, shows a higher frequency of same word repetition than any other section of the text, when repetition over more than two sentences is included. This is done in cooperation with anaphoric case-marking particles to give strong lexical ties between this ritual and the previous two rituals.

4.3.1.2 Equivalent repetition

Equivalent repetition in the *Innana* text includes both synonyms and near-synonyms. (It is not nearly so important a cohesive device as same word repetition.)

Synonyms:

In sentences 77 and 78 'announce' and 'shout' are synonymous:

*77. Isnan maschem **insalang** nan ongang-a.*	77. At night the children **announce** the *Tengaw* ritual.
NFM night announce FM child,PL	
*78a. **Ifokhawchay***	78a. They **shout**,
call.they,LK	
78b. "Is wakas et Tengaw."	78b. "Tomorrow is a *Tengaw* ritual rest day."
at morrow CONJ Tengaw	

Synonymous nouns are illustrated in sentences 84 and 85, 'children' and 'offspring' (see fig. 73).

SETTING	0
Lifon ritual	0.1
Soyok ritual	0.5
Mangmang ritual	0
Apey ritual	0.15
Tengaw ritual	0.125
CONCLUSION	0.167

Fig. 66. Frequency of equivalent repetition (synonyms and near-synonyms) per sentence of the Innana text.

Near-synonyms:

The *Innana* text has few synonyms, but many near-synonyms, especially in the *Soyok* ritual, which has three times as many synonyms and near-synonyms as any other section of the text. Typical near-synonyms are *papangolo* 'leaders' in sentence 8 and *kakachangyan* 'rich' in sentence 9; *fotog* 'pig' in sentence 29 and *walak* 'share' in sentence 31; *fotog* 'pig' in sentence 8 and *fafoy* 'big pig' in sentence 9.

There are two significant features of figure 66:

Neither the SETTING, which is explanatory, nor the *Mangmang* ritual, which is also explanatory, uses equivalent repetition as cohesive devices, but the explanatory CONCLUSION does. Perhaps this is one way in which argumentative explanation differs from non-argumentative explanation. More work is needed here.

The *Soyok* ritual has a very high frequency of equivalent repetition vis-à-vis the *Lifon* and the *Apey* rituals. (As previously mentioned, the *Lifon* and *Apey* rituals are activity oriented, whereas the *Soyok* is more explanatory.)

4.3.1.3 Superordinate repetition

Next to same-word repetition, superordinate repetition is the most important type of lexical cohesion in the *Innana* text. There are three kinds of superordinate repetition:

Generic-specific/specific-generic:

This relationship is exemplified by old men/villagers/children/people in sentences 73, 75, 77, and 79, and by Bontoc/Samoki villages in sentences 69 and 70 (see figs. 71 and 72).

Whole-part/part-whole:

This relationship is well illustrated in sentences 10 and 13 by pig's forelegs, hind legs, liver, stomach, blood, and skin, and in 61 and 62 by chicken's gizzard and intestines (see figs. 68 and 71).

Co-membership:

The various rituals of the *Innana* complex of rituals often occur in a co-membership relationship with each other. For example, the *Lifon* and *Soyok* rituals in sentence 47 are in a co-membership relationship with the *Mangmang* of sentence 45 (see fig. 70). Again, segments of the community also occur in a co-membership relationship with each other: for example, the rich people and the poor people in sentences 15 and 16 (see fig. 68).

4.3.1.4 General word

A general word gives only weak ties to its antecedent. In sentence 81 *nan takho* 'the people' in fact refers only to a small section of the population: those who go to the field on the day following the completion of the *Innana* rituals. Since all the field work and rice planting has been done, the pressure of the field work is over. Here a general word substitutes for a more specific group of people:

81. Kasin mawakas mo khawis nan fatawa, mamoknagchat nan
again morrow if good FM world go.to.field.they,PART FM
takho.
person

81. On the next day, if there have been no untoward happenings, **the people** go to the fields.

4.3.2 Collocation

Generally, collocation, like general word, is a rather weak form of lexical cohesion. However, we have included within the category of collocation one type of lexical cohesion which is much stronger: ordinal cohesion.

In the *Innana* text we have ordinal cohesion only within a sentence, although the sentence in question, sentence 4, is more in the nature of a paragraph embedded within a sentence. Elsewhere, however, Bontocs use this cohesive device between sentences and also between paragraphs. In sentence 4 'first', 'second', 'third', etc., are strongly cohesive.

4a. Isnan timpon nan Innana, maangnen ***omona*** *nan Lifon;* NFM time.of POSS Innana is.done first FM Lifon	4a. At the time of the *Innana*, the *Lifon* ritual is done **first**;
4b. ***mikadwa****, maangnen nan Soyok;* second is.done FM Soyok	4b. **second**, the *Soyok* ritual is done;
4c. ***maikatlo****, maangnen nan Mangmang;* third is.done FM Mangmang	4c. **third**, the *Mangmang* ritual is done;
4d. ***mikap-at*** *maangnen nan Apey;* fourth is.done FM Apey	4d. **fourth**, the *Apey* ritual is done;
4e. ***mikalima****, maangnen nan Patay ya nan Tengaw.* fifth is.done FM Patay and FM Tengaw	4e. and **fifth**, the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals are done.

A second type of collocation is the use of antonyms. An example of this is in sentences 41 and 42: 'cooked meat' and 'raw meat' (see fig. 69). There are also other opposites of various sorts, for example in sentences 31 and 32: 'last year/now' (see fig. 69), and 'hear/tell' in sentences 1 and 6.

There are still other collocation relationships. For example, in sentence 2 we have the words *sangad-om* 'long ago' and *mawanwaned* 'inherit'. *Tinawen* 'every year' in sentence 3 collocates with this, as does *timpon* 'time of' in sentence 4a (see fig. 67). Again, *manganancha* 'where they will eat' in sentence 63 collocates with *sibfancha* 'viand their' in sentence 62 (see fig. 71). In the next sentence, sentence 64, it is arguable whether *am-among* 'gathering' is in a collocation relationship with *manganancha* 'where they will eat' in 63, or whether it is a near-synonym. Similarly, it is arguable whether *toping* 'rock wall' in sentence 55 (almost all rice fields have a wall surrounding at least part of their circumference) is in a collocation relationship with *payew* 'rice field' in sentence 54b, or in a part-whole relationship with it (see fig. 71 for all these examples).

4.3.3 The function of lexical cohesion

The value of lexical cohesion to the overall unity of a text is contingent on several factors. Lexical cohesion weakens rapidly if the tie is across nonadjacent sentences. The tie also weakens when the lexical items concerned are high-frequency items. For example, very common verbs such as 'come' and 'go' in narrative would not normally form significant cohesive ties, but unusual items like 'ski', 'skate', and 'plummet' would. Thus in the *Innana* text the verbs 'insert', 'wedge', and 'embed' in sentences 55 and 58 (see fig. 71) are more strongly cohesive across three sentence boundaries than are the three occurrences of the much more common verb 'take' in sentences 8, 10, and 11 (see fig. 68). Note also, that the cohesion of sentences 55 and 58 is also helped by enation (see sec. 4.4.1).

Finally, the cohesive value of items is in proportion both to the intrinsic span (mnemonic value) of the item and to its role in the sentence, paragraph, and discourse. Some lexical items seem to command a potentially lengthy span, perhaps because of rare usage, perhaps because of their relation to the culture of the people, perhaps because of emotive overtones, or perhaps because of the way in which the author has used them, imparting to them unusual shades of meaning, or using them in a unique metaphorical way. On the hierarchical level, a sentence topic is likely to be more cohesive than a lexical item in a nonfocused position. If the sentence topic is also a paragraph theme, or closely related to the theme of the discourse as a whole, it is still more cohesive. So, for example, the subtitles in the *Innana* text, although they are in a relationship of lexical repetition from the previous sentence, have a much stronger unifying role in the whole text than they do simply as lexical repetition across two sentences. For example, in sentences 26-28 (see figs. 68 and 69) the word *Soyok* in 27 has a strong unifying role in the whole text, as the subtitle of a new section, which far outweighs its relationship to sentence 26:

26. Mo nachokpos nan Lifon, sachat akhes illokhi nan Soyok.
when finish FM Lifon then.they,PART also begin FM Soyok
26. When the *Lifon* ritual is finished, then they also begin the ***Soyok*** ritual.

*27. **Soyok.***
Soyok
27. The ***Soyok*** ritual.

*28. Nan **Soyok** kaagna nan Lifon.*
FM Soyok like.it FM Lifon
28. The ***Soyok*** ritual is similar to the *Lifon* ritual.

4.3.3.1 Lexical chains in the *Innana* text

In the SETTING of the *Innana* text there are six lexical chains. Three of these are same word repetition, one superordinate repetition, and two collocation. Note that two of these chains are really within one sentence, but that since that sentence could almost be considered an embedded paragraph, the lexical chains are included here as relevant to the text as a whole.

Title	*Innana*				details	
1	x				x	
2	x				|	long ago
3	x			is done	|	every year
4a	x	*Lifon*	first	x	|	time
4b	|	*Soyok*	second	x	|	
4c	|	*Mangmang*	third	x	|	
4d	|	*Apey*	fourth	x	|	
4e	|	*Patay/Tengaw*	fifth	x	|	
5	x		x		x	

Fig. 67. Lexical chains of the SETTING of the Innana text.

In the *Lifon* ritual there are seven lexical chains. Each of these involves same word repetition, but two also involve superordinate repetition at various stages along the chain. Two others involve equivalent repetition and one collocation. In fact, the 'houses' chain switches via collocation to an 'eating' chain in midstream.

None of the lexical chains of the *Lifon* ritual seem to be very strong cohesive devices, with the exception of the latter part of the 'pig' chain, which is, beginning in sentence 20, 'the shares of meat', 'the lungs', 'the belly', 'tail/the tail plus', and 'the withers/ribs'.

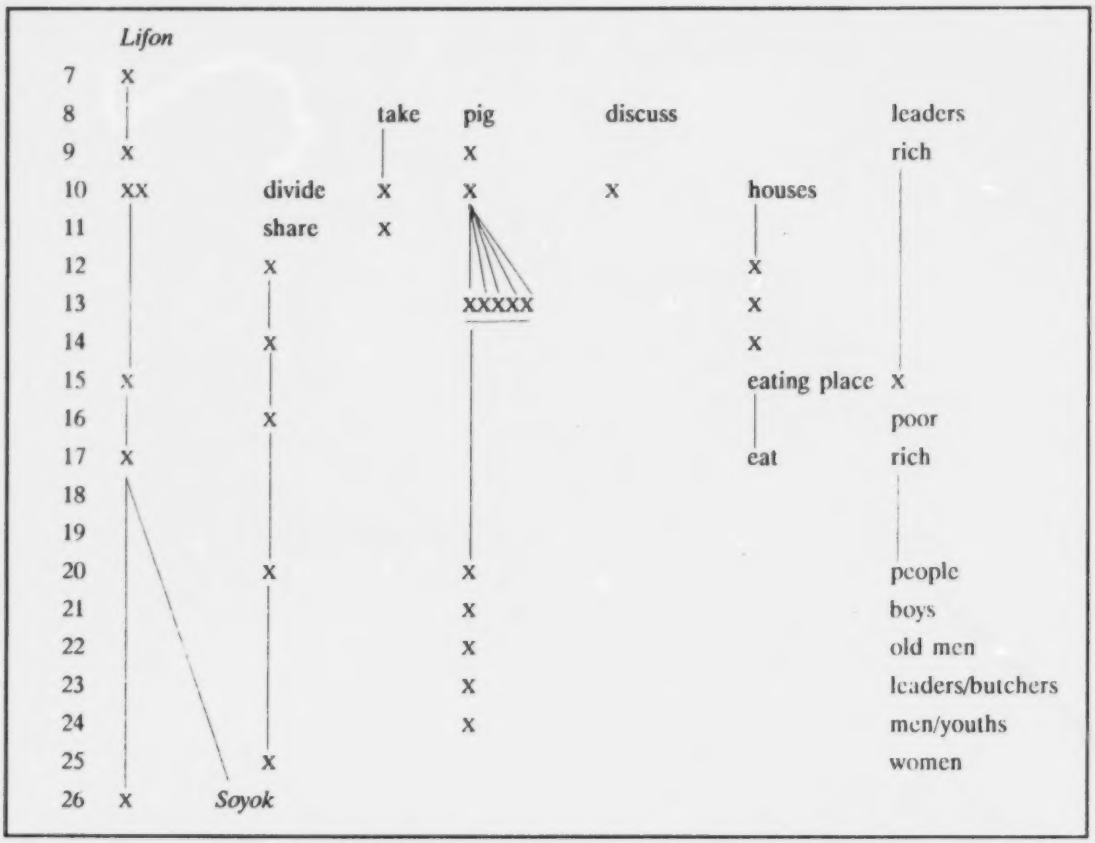

Fig. 68. Lexical chains of the Lifon ritual of the Innana text.

In the *Soyok* ritual there are nine lexical chains. Five of these are purely same word repetition. The 'pig' chain involves a combination of same word and equivalent repetition, the 'butcher' chain a combination of collocation and same word repetition, the 'cook' chain the reverse of this, and the 'people' chain superordinate repetition.

As a general observation, the lexical chains of the *Soyok* are stronger than those in the *Lifon* ritual, and so provide a more cohesive force.

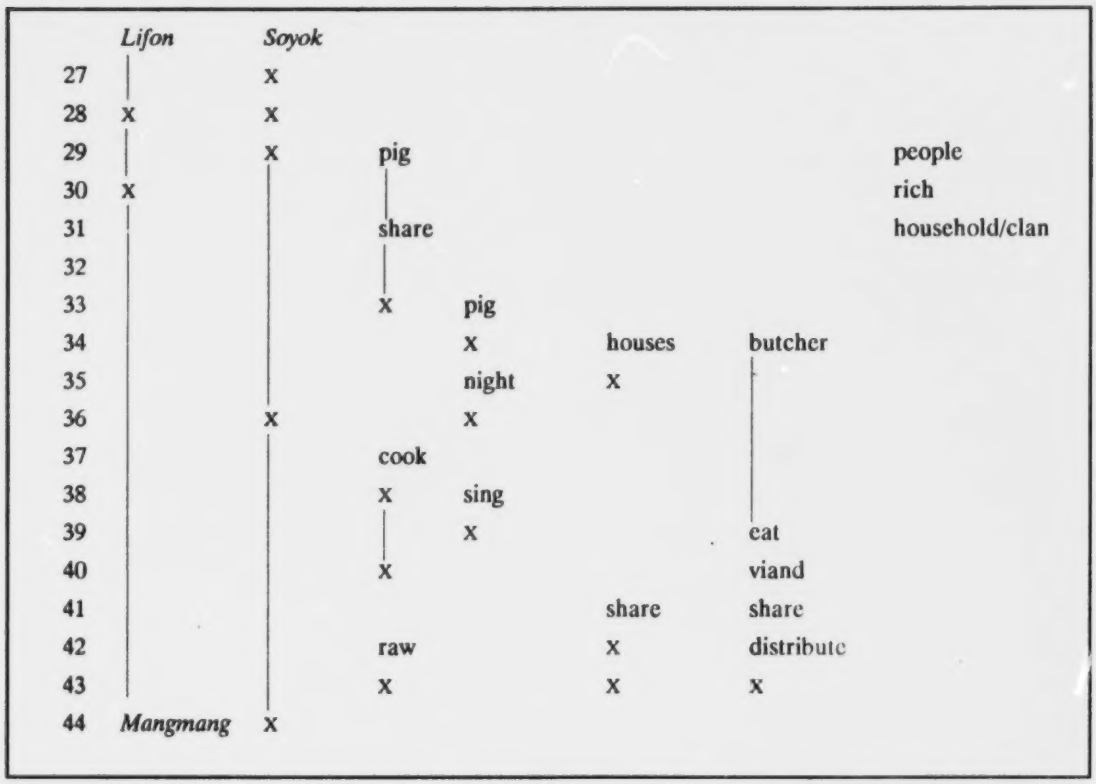

Fig. 69. Lexical chains of the Soyok ritual of the Innana text.

In the *Mangmang* ritual lexical cohesion is minimal. Of the four lexical chains which extend into or are included within it, none are particularly strong. The *Mangmang* item in sentence 45 is operating on the whole discourse level, so at that level is very important, but as a chain with *Mangmang* in sentence 44 it is weak. Each of the *Lifon* and *Soyok* items are in nonfocused nominal phrases, so are not strongly cohesive, and the general word 'person' in sentence 46 is only weakly tied to 'person' in sentence 44.

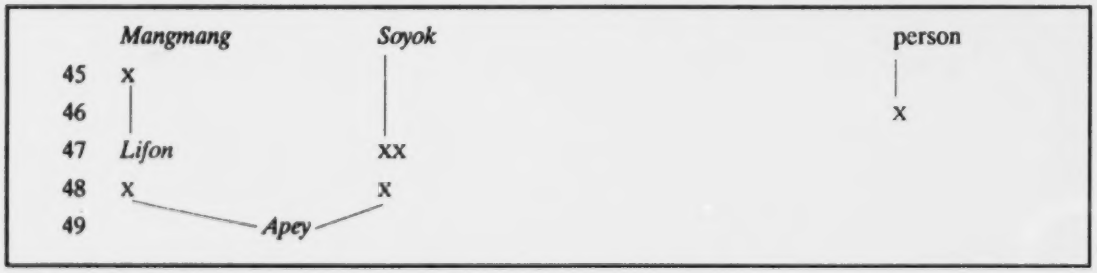

Fig. 70. Lexical chains of the Mangmang ritual of the Innana text.

In the *Apey* ritual there are twenty-four lexical chains. The *Apey* ritual stands out among the *Innana* rituals in this regard; that is, it has the greatest number of lexical chains giving it cohesion. Fifteen of these are purely same word repetition, which Gutwinski (1976:80) calls the "clearest instance of lexical cohesion." One chain, the 'spit' chain, is purely equivalent repetition, and three, the '*Innana*', 'chicken', and 'Bontoc/Samoki' chains, are superordinate repetition. Four others, 'morrow', 'finished', 'kindle', and

'outside village' are pure collocation. Only one chain, the 'viand' chain, is a combination: collocation and same word repetition. Note also that although the 'rice field' chain includes other items in a collocation and perhaps superordinate relationship, the same word lexical chain is not interrupted, but only strengthened by these other items.

Among the twenty-four lexical chains in the *Apey* ritual, some are fairly strong in that they involve same word, equivalent, or superordinate repetition of words with high mnemonic value, for example the 'chicken', 'rice field', 'relative', and 'parent' chains. Others are quite weak in that they tend to use general word repetition, collocation, or repetition of items with low mnemonic values, for example the 'get' and 'kindle' chains. It seems to us that a detailed discussion of each chain is not time well spent at this stage. Suffice it to say that lexical cohesion plays a far more important role in the overall unity of this ritual than in either the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals.

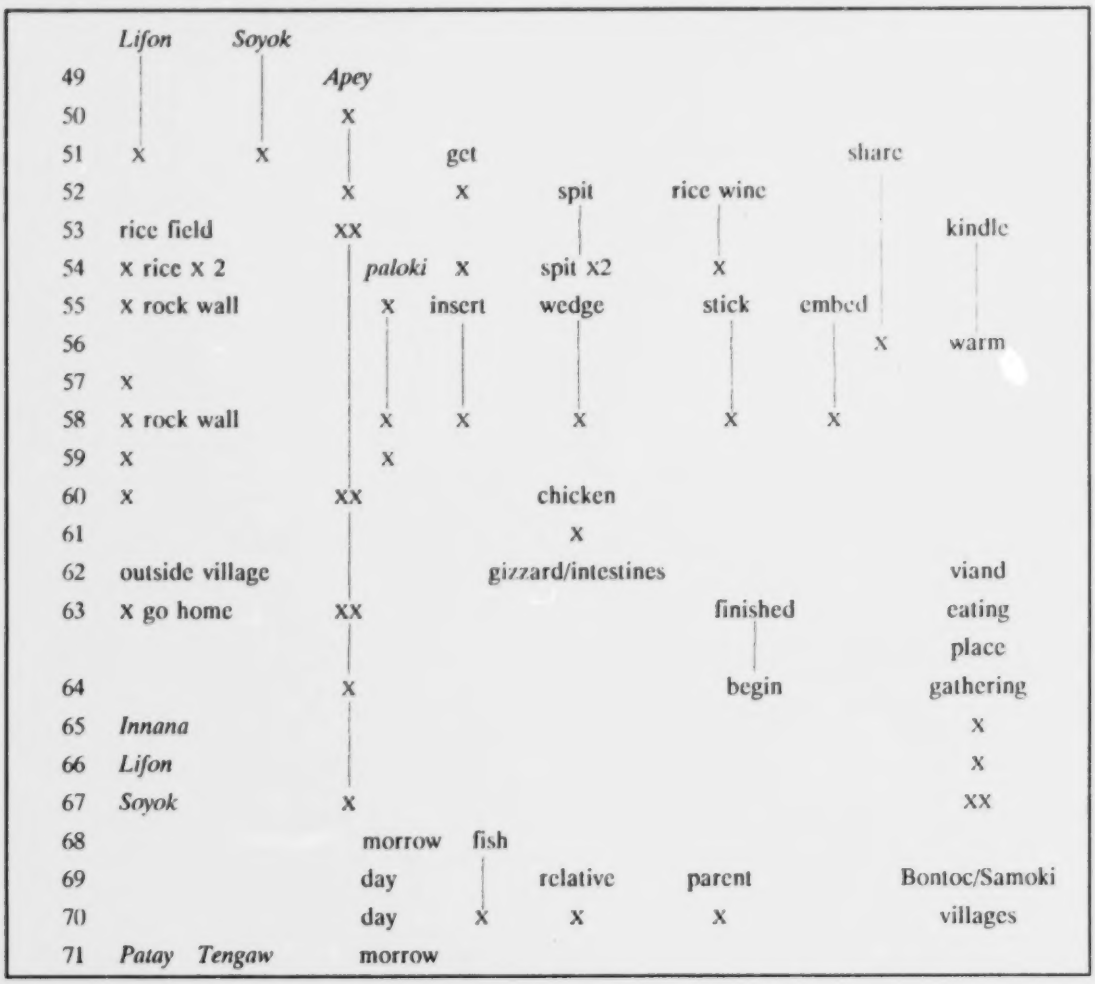

Fig. 71. Lexical chains of the Apey ritual of the Innana text.

In the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals there are seven lexical chains. Two of these are same word repetition chains, while both the 'contribute' and 'announce' chains are equivalent repetitions. The 'old men' chain is superordinate, and the '*Tengaw*' and 'night' chains involve a combination of same word repetition and collocation. Five of these are fairly strong lexical chains: the 'contribute', 'announce', 'pig', the latter part

of the '*Tengaw*' chain from sentences 78 to 81, and the latter part of the '*Patay*' chain, in sentences 73 and 74. In all, lexical cohesion is an important cohesive tie in this section of the *Innana* text.

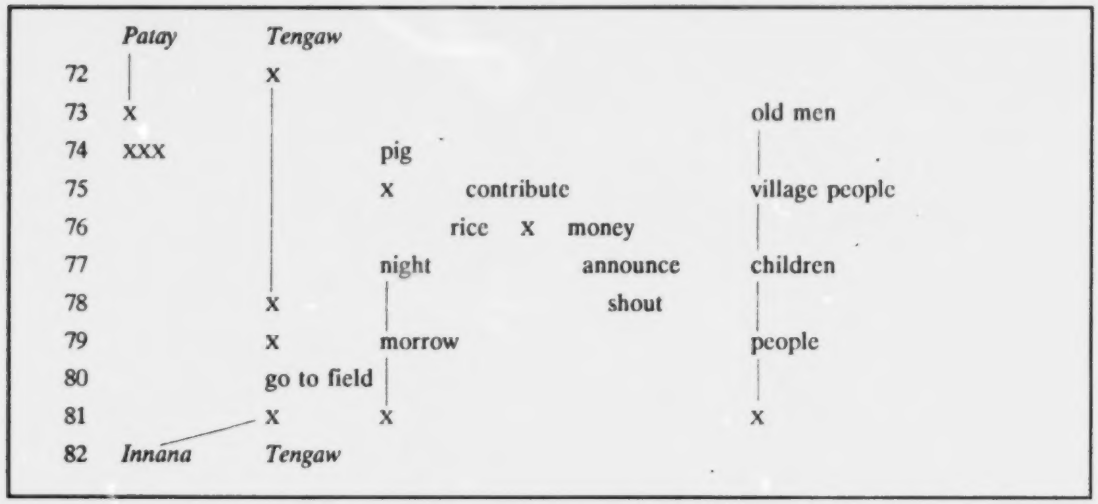

Fig. 72. Lexical chains of the Patay and Tengaw rituals of the Innana text.

In the CONCLUSION of the *Innana* text there are six lexical chains. Four of these are same word repetition, one is superordinate repetition, and one a combination of same word repetition and collocation. Since none of these are especially weak chains, it would appear that lexical cohesion is quite strong in the CONCLUSION.

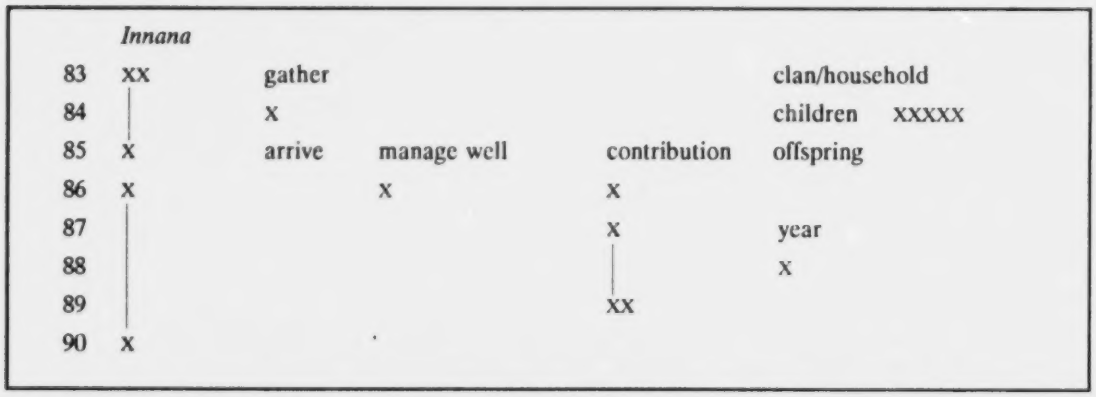

Fig. 73. Lexical chains of the CONCLUSION of the Innana text.

4.3.3.2 Lexical cohesion and profile

Lexical cohesion is one of the systems which operate concurrently within any text to give overall unity. We have already seen that, at different locations in the *Innana* text, lexical cohesion fluctuates in the contribution that it makes towards making that unit cohesive. For instance, we saw that one coherence device at the author's disposal is heightened or lowered tension. This tension control produces a profile, which, in the *Innana* gives three peaks: a didactic peak in the CONCLUSION, a minor procedural ritual peak in the *Lifon*, and a major peak in the *Apey* ritual. In this section we will tabulate frequencies of lexically cohesive devices and relate those to the text profile.

Figure 74 summarizes same word lexical repetition across a single sentence boundary, and across one or more sentence boundaries, and the relative number of lexical chains in each of the four *Innana* rituals which are encoded as embedded procedures. This figure pictures the relationship between text profile and lexical cohesion.

	Lifon ritual	*Soyok* ritual	*Apey* ritual	*Tengaw* ritual
Same word repetition/sentence	0.5	1.0	1.1 (highest)	1.0
Same word across one or more sentence boundaries/sentence	1.22	1.75	2.05 (highest)	1.125
Lexical chains/ 10 sentences	3.7	4.4	10.9 (highest)	7.0

Fig. 74. Same word lexical repetition in the procedural rituals.

Each of these three parameters shows that the *Apey* ritual is in some way different from the other rituals. In each of these three categories, but especially in the number of lexical chains, the *Apey* ritual stands out from the other procedural rituals. The reason for this difference is more fully explained in section 3.3 (profile) and section 5.4 (focal content).

Figure 75 summarizes another set of parameters, showing a different facet of the rituals.

	Lifon ritual	*Soyok* ritual	*Apey* ritual	*Tengaw* ritual
Total Lexical Repetition/sentence	2.68	3.1 (highest)	2.5	1.33
Equivalent Repetition/sentence	0.1	0.5 (highest)	0.15	0.125
Collocation/sentence	0.21	0.53 (highest)	0.4	0.1

Fig. 75. Total lexical repetition, equivalent repetition, and collocation in the procedural rituals.

The three parameters seen in figure 75 set the *Soyok* ritual off from the other rituals. Indeed, it is unique, being the most explanatory of the four procedural rituals.

Halliday and Hasan (1976:277ff.) describe a scale, or cline, of lexical cohesion, beginning with the clearest form of lexical cohesion, same word repetition, and becoming more general to equivalent, to superordinate, and then, by extension, to collocation. Figures 74 and 75 show quite clearly that the *Apey* ritual uses lexical cohesion at the clearest end of the scale, while the *Soyok* uses those at the more general end. As well as that, the *Apey* uses approximately three times as many lexical chains as does the *Soyok*. This provides a sharp distinction between the two rituals.

To understand lexical cohesion in the explanatory paragraphs of the *Innana* text, we need to compare the SETTING and CONCLUSION paragraphs. Although both are explanatory, they have contrasting roles in the text. The SETTING is explanatory without tension whereas the CONCLUSION is explanatory with tension. The difference that tension makes to an explanation is an area of discourse study which warrants

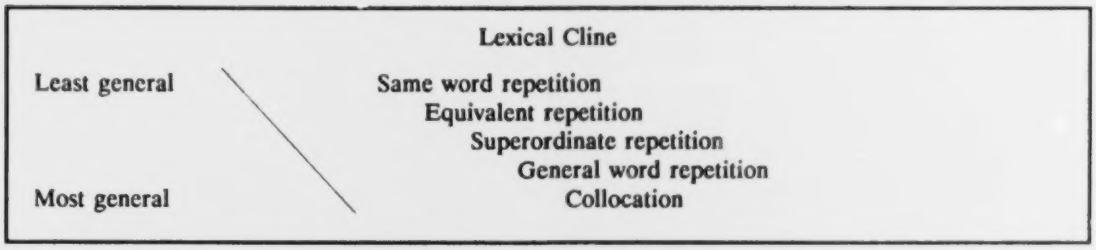

Fig. 76. A scale of lexical cohesion (adapted from Halliday and Hasan 1976).

further investigation. Suffice it to note here the four parameters marked high and low in figure 77. In each of four types of lexical cohesion, the SETTING shows a much higher value than the CONCLUSION.

In summary, then, we can say that of all the types of cohesion that have been presented, lexical cohesion is the one that generally gives the most consistent form of sentence-to-sentence (or sequential) cohesion. Such cohesion varies in importance from section to section of the text. The variation correlates well with what the author is doing in each section of the discourse, reinforcing the significance of the *Apey* ritual as the most important ritual and emphasizing the more explanatory nature of the *Soyok* ritual.

	SETTING	*Mangmang* ritual	CONCLUSION
Same word repetition/sentence	2.0 (high)	0.3	1.0 (low)
Same word across one or more sentence boundaries/sentence	2.5 (high)	3.66	1.33 (low)
Equivalent repetition/sentence	0	0	0.17
Superordinate repetition/sentence	1.75 (high)	0	1.0 (low)
Total lexical repetition/sentence	3.4 (high)	3.0	2.14 (low)
Collocation/sentence	0.2	0	0
Lexical chains/10 sentences	10.0	10.0	8.6

Fig. 77. Lexical cohesion in the explanatory paragraphs of the Innana text.

4.4 Conjunction, enation, and agnation

Conjunction is a different kind of cohesive device. Whereas reference is a semantic connection between two items, a relationship of meaning between specific linguistic items, conjunction is the semantic relationship between propositions and groups of propositions. Thus, conjunction is the ladder that takes us out of the sentence and into the paragraph and text.

4.4.1 Conjunction

Halliday and Hasan (1976:226ff.) outline four major types of conjunctive relationship: additive, adversative, causal, and temporal, each of which have several subcategories (ibid., 242-43). They also distinguish between external and internal conjunction. External conjunctive relations are "those which exist as relations between external phenomena," while internal conjunctive relations are "those which are as it were internal to the communication situation" (ibid., 240).

Although it is possible to posit a conjunctive relation between almost any two adjoining sentences of a connected discourse, hierarchical considerations show that some conjunctive relations are far more important than others. In this brief discussion we will not discuss conjunction which, in the light of hierarchy, proves to be contrived rather than meaningful on the paragraph level.

4.4.1.1 Additive conjunction

The types of conjunctive relationships that Halliday and Hasan call additive include a wide range of propositional relations. That this is so is perhaps not unexpected, since they state (1976:238) that "conjunctive relations are not logical but textual." Nevertheless, since "conjunctions express one or other of a small number of very general relations" (ibid., 232), it would seem valuable to systematize these relationships.

The propositional relations included within this category, then, are conjoining, paraphrase, illustration, and deixis. (We use here the terminology of Longacre 1976:159, which was given in more detail in sec. 2.) These give rise to paragraphs of the same names.

kasin	'again'	*as pay*	'moreover'
akhes	'also'	*sa pay*	'moreover'
chey	'there'	*pay laeng*	'moreover'
ya	'and'	*ad-i pay*	'moreover'
et	'and'	*wenno*	'or'
pay	'again, moreover'	*paymo*	'or'

Fig. 78. Some Central Bontoc additive conjunctions.

Bontoc does not enjoy the wide range of conjunctions displayed by English; additive conjunctive relations between sentences are often expressed by the propositions themselves rather than by the use of conjunctions. However, in the *Innana* text we do have one conjunction used to show the additive relationship. It is in sentences 51 and 52, which are coordinated by the use of *akhes* 'also' into an action setting for the *Apey* ritual:

51. Omala cha issan inasinancha ay pasingcha paymo finingitcha
get they NFM salt.their LK share.their or distribute.their
issan Lifon paymo issan Soyok is iyapeycha.
NFM Lifon or NFM Soyok NFM do.Apey.they

51. They get their (uncooked) share that they have salted or their distributed share from the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, to do the *Apey* ritual.

52. Omala cha akhes is tapey paymo fayyas si
get they also NFM rice.wine or sugarcane.wine FM
seng-ewcha ay mangapey.
spit.they LK do.Apey

52. They also get rice wine or sugarcane wine to spit out as part of the *Apey* ritual.

4.4.1.2 Adversative conjunction

The adversative category corresponds to Longacre's contrast and comparison logical relations, both of which are subtypes of conjoining (1976:94-164). In Bontoc the adversative relationship is often, though not necessarily, expressed through the use of a conjunction. For example, in sentences 15 and 16, the adversative relationship is expressed by a particle combination *nay met achi* 'but':

15. Nan nay Lifon, siya nan manganan nan kakachangyan.
FM this Lifon it FM eating.time POSS rich.person,PL

15. This *Lifon* ritual is the time when the rich celebrate.

*16. **Nay met achi**, mafalin ay makifingit nan ib-a ay*
this PART PART possible LK share.with FM friend,PL LK

poposi.
poor.person,PL

16. **But** poor friends can also be given a share.

nay met achi	'but'	*ngem*	'but'
magtek	'but/indeed'	*mod-i*	'rather'

Fig. 79. Some Central Bontoc adversative conjunctions.

4.4.1.3 Causal conjunction

Both Longacre (1976:94-164) and Halliday and Hasan (1976:256ff.) subsume all the causal relationships under one heading. Longacre uses the term implication; Halliday and Hasan use the term causal conjunctive relations. In practice this includes condition, causation, reason, result, consequence, circumstances, contrafactuality, and warning. These conjunctive relations are especially common in argumentative discourse, where an author is trying to convince or persuade. In the *Innana* text the CONCLUSION is that type of text material. In sentences 85 and 86 we have a warning, conjoined by the conjunction *tay* 'because'. Within both sentences 85 and 86 we also have causal conjunctions, but these we ignore since our focus here is intersentential not interclausal cohesion, following Halliday and Hasan (ibid., 232), for whom "cohesion is a relation between sentences, not a relation within the sentence."

85. Siya akhes nan mangipafikas isnan anan-ak ay inchog-an
this also FM strengthen NFM offspring,PL LK manage.well

ta way iwalakcha isnan Innana.
so.that there.is contribute.they NFM Innana

85. That also is what causes children to be encouraged to manage well so that they will have a contribution for the *Innana* rituals.

*86. **Tay** mo ad-i cha inchog-an et mid iwalakcha isnan*
because if not they manage.well CONJ none contribute.they NFM

Innana.
Innana

86. **Because** if they don't manage well, they will have no contribution for the *Innana* rituals.

tay	'because'	*khapo*	'since'
khapo tay	'because/since'	*khapo et*	'arising out of/because of'
tatno	'so that'	*olay*	'even'
tapno	'so that'	*tay olay mo*	'because even if'
ta	'so that'	*mo*	'if'
isonga	'that is why/so'	*mo sa*	'if perhaps'
nay et	'so'	*take*	'even'
kecheng	'only'	*take mo*	'even if'

Fig. 80. Some Central Bontoc causal conjunctions.

4.4.1.4 Temporal conjunction

The type of conjunctive relationship that predominates between sentences of a discourse is a good guide as to what the type and content of the text will be. Because of this, van Dijk and Kintsch (1978:70), when they distill the macro-structure of a narrative, remove "descriptions of reasons, purposes, and intentions for actions, and the mental consequences of actions"—exactly those things that form the macro-structure of argumentative expository and behavioral discourses!

In the *Innana* text, temporal conjunction is quite important, but only in the procedurally oriented rituals. In these rituals, there are four types of temporal conjunction:

(1) carried by the relationship between propositions

(2) using the sequence particle 'then'

(3) using a time phrase

(4) using a time clause

Carried by the relationship between propositions:

Sentences 61 and 62 are in a temporal sequence relationship in which the propositions themselves carry the temporal conjunction.

61. Faikhencha sachat lakhiman ya sepwaken nan manok.
beat.they then.they,PART burn and section FM chicken

61. They kill the chicken, then burn the feathers and butcher it.

62. Otowencha, magtek kecheng nan fitli ya nan potona nan
cook.they but only FM gizzard and FM intestine.its FM

sibfancha id ilit.
viand.their at outside

62. They cook it, but it is only the gizzard and its intestines that they eat outside the village.

Using the sequence particle 'then':

Sentences 34 and 35 are in a temporal sequence relationship in which the conjunction is signaled by a sequence particle combination *sa...et* 'then'.

34. Makhekhed nan nay chay fotog isnan afob-ong nan cheychay
divide FM this they,LK pig NFM house,PL POSS those,LK

madpap nan fotogcha.
catch FM pig.their

34. These pigs are butchered at the houses of their owners.

35. Sachat eycy isnan afong ay maamongancha isnan
then.they,PART take NFM house LK gathering.place.their NFM

maschem.
night

35. **Then** they take it to the house where they will gather at night.

Using a time phrase:

Sentence 36 carries the temporal sequence further by using a time phrase.

36. Isnan chey ay maschem si Soyok, mangan nan maam-among ay
NFM that LK night POSS Soyok eat FM gather LK

sinpangapo paymo sinpangafong.
clan or household

36. **That night of the *Soyok* ritual**, the clan or household who are gathered eat together.

Temporal overlap may be signaled by a time phrase also, as in sentence 38:

38. Isnan timpo ay cha maoto nan watwat, mangay-ayyeng nan
NFM time LK CONT cook FM meat sing.ayyeng FM

amam-a.
old.man,PL

38. **While the meat is cooking**, the old men sing the *ayyeng* song.

Using a time clause:

Temporal sequence may be signaled by a time clause, as in sentence 39:

*39. **Mo mangancha** tomke nan ayyeng.*
when eat.they stop FM ayyeng

39. When they eat, they stop singing the *ayyeng* song.

kad	'after that'	*wakas*	'morrow'
saei	'then'	*kawaksana*	'morrow'
nalpas	'finish'	*maschem*	'night'
sik-od	'not until'	*mawakas*	'on the morrow'
idwani	'now/today'		etc., etc.

Fig. 81. Some Central Bontoc temporal conjunctions.

4.4.2 Enation

Enation and agnation (Gutwinski 1976:75-79) are structural relations between sentences or parts of sentences which because of grammatical parallelism give a cohesive effect. Enation occurs when two clauses or sentences have identical structures. Gleason (1965:199) defines enation as follows:

> Two sentences can be said to be enate if they have identical structures, that is, if the elements (say, words) at equivalent places in the sentences are of the same classes, and if the constructions in which they occur are the same.

If, in addition to manifesting enation, some of the *words* in the sentences are also the same, the cohesive effect is stronger. Sentence 4 of the *Innana* text is a good example of enation, where 4b, 4c, 4d, and 4e are parallel to the clause in 4a:

*4a. Isnan timpon nan Innana, **maangnen** omona **nan Lifon**;*
NFM time.of POSS Innana is.done first FM Lifon

4a. At the time of the *Innana*, **the *Lifon* ritual is done** first;

*4b. mikadwa, **maangnen nan Soyok**;*
second is.done FM Soyok

4b. second, **the *Soyok* ritual is done**;

*4c. maikatlo, **maangnen nan Mangmang**;*
third is.done FM Mangmang

4c. third, **the *Mangmang* ritual is done**;

*4d. mikap-at **maangnen nan Apey**;*
fourth is.done FM Apey

4d. fourth, **the *Apey* ritual is done**;

*4e. mikalima, **maangnen nan Patay ya nan Tengaw**.*
fifth is.done FM Patay and FM Tengaw

4e. and fifth, **the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals are done**.

Sentences 21 to 24 are another good example of enation:

*21. **Nan fala**, siya **nan enkwan nan ongang-a ay lalalaki**.*
FM lungs it FM belong POSS child,PL LK male,PL

21. The lungs belong to the boys.

*22. **Nan sofod, enkwan nan amam-a**.*
FM belly belong POSS old.man,PL

22. The stomach skin is for the old men.

*23. **Nan falong-a paymo ipos, enkwan nan pangolo paymo nan inkhekhed**.*
FM tail.plus or tail belong POSS leader or POSS divider,PL

23. The tail plus its root, or the tail alone, belongs to the leaders or to the ones who do the butchering.

24. Nan tete ya nan palagpag enkwan nan inasaw-an paymo
FM withers and FM ribs belong POSS just.married or
nan fabfafallo.
POSS young.man,PL

24. **The ridge between the shoulder bones and the ribs are for newly married men or for the young men.**

Note that these sentences, 21-24, make up a list in a preview paragraph. Here we see a correlation between enation and a paragraph type. The correlation is perhaps not complete, however, since in sentences 55 and 58 we have a rather different example of enation cohesion. In sentence 58, the main clause of sentence 55 is repeated almost word for word, but embedded within a nominal phrase. Whether or not this example fits Gleason's original definition of enation is unclear, since Gleason limited enation to whole sentences. However, it seems to me that whatever it is called in sentences 55 and 58, there certainly is some kind of structural cohesion operating:

55. Sachat ***isokfit nan paloki iska toping paymo sipitencha***
then.they,PART insert FM paloki LOC rock.wall or wedge.they
isnan lolo, sachat ipadsek *isnan kapayew.*
NFM stick then.they,PART embed NFM LOC,rice.field

55. Then they **insert** the *paloki* **between the stones of the rock wall or wedge** it **into a split stick and embed** it in the rice field.

58. Isnan esay payew esay paloki nan isokfitcha iska
NFM one,LK rice.field one,LK paloki FM insert.they LOC
topingna paymo sipitencha isnan lolo sachat ipadsek.
rock.wall.its or wedge.they NFM stick then.they,PART embed

58. In each rice field **they insert** one stem of *paloki* **between the stones of the rock wall, or wedge it into a (split) stick and embed** it in the rice field.

4.4.3 Agnation

Agnation differs from enation in that in agnation the same thing, approximately, is said twice, using different grammatical constructions. In the *Innana* text are two examples of agnation in the *Tengaw* ritual. The first is in sentences 73 and 74. This is a paraphrase paragraph, with the first sentence having a stative predicate, the second an active predicate.

73. Mamatay ona nan amam-a.
do.Patay first FM old.man,PL

73. The old men first **perform the *Patay* ritual**.

74. Ipataycha nan fotog nan pomapatay iska Papatayan.
do.Patay.they FM pig POSS sacred.tree.guardian LOC sacred.tree

74. **They kill for the *Patay* ritual** the pig of the one who has responsibility for the sacred tree, at the sacred tree.

The second example of agnation is in sentences 77 and 78. Here the author repeats the same proposition, the first time using an indicative active clause, the second time an embedded attributive paragraph.

77. Isnan maschem insalang nan ongang-a.
NFM night announce FM child,PL

77. At night the children announce the *Tengaw* ritual.

78a. Ifokhawchay
call.they,LK

78a. They shout,

78b. "Is wakas et Tengaw."
at morrow CONJ Tengaw

78b. "Tomorrow is a *Tengaw* ritual rest day."

It is obvious from these few examples that enation and agnation do make a contribution to the cohesion of the text. Further work is needed to discover how prevalent the use of these devices is in the various genres of Bontoc discourse.

4.4.4 Other cohesive features

Several other cohesive features occur in Central Bontoc. They are not discussed here since they are not relevant to the *Innana* text. For instance, in a narrative written by the same author, rhyme is used as a cohesive device in an embedded prayer. Another author uses chiasmus in an excellent hortative text. Modality, the use of adjectives, comparatives, and adverbials, all warrant further study. So does tense/aspect and its cohesive force from genre to genre. Another such feature common in some languages is overlay, where whole clauses and sentences are repeated, thus contributing to the cohesion of the whole. This sort of feature needs to be correlated with the hierarchical structure of the text.

4.4.5 Summary

In chapter 4 we have studied sequential, or linear, cohesion (van Dijk 1977:45) under four headings: (1) referential cohesion; (2) substitution and ellipsis; (3) lexical cohesion; and (4) conjunction, enation, and agnation.

Generally speaking, referential cohesion in the *Innana* text is weak; the author is not overly concerned with who does what. Rather, he is writing scripts for the six rituals which make up the *Innana* complex. The author's focus is the actions and activities which together make up a ritual, not the particular individuals who perform the action. The result of this is that frequently he simply attributes even the most important actions to nonspecific persons—the rich, or the clan. And in the *Apey* ritual, which is the most important ritual of all, the participant identification goal is so completely subsumed under the overriding script-writing goal that the whole ritual is said to be performed by 'them', with no clear antecedent at all.

It should be noted, however, that although personal reference is not important for disambiguating participants in the *Innana* text, the relative frequency of personal reference does have a role in differentiating between the parts of the text itself. One of the tools in a Bontoc speaker's kit to indicate heightened and lowered tension, which is a cohesion device, is the frequency with which he uses personal reference (see figs. 58 and 59).

Substitution and ellipsis are closely related cohesive devices, for which reason they have been treated. There is some evidence that our author chose to use substitution and ellipsis in mutual exclusion with one another in two important *Innana* rituals. (In the minor peak of the procedural rituals, where he used substitution frequently, he chose not to use ellipsis, and in the major peak, where he chose to use ellipsis, he basically avoided the use of substitution.) This resulted in a use of substitution and ellipsis with direct correlation to the major and minor peaks of the procedural rituals of the text.

In contrast to substitution and ellipsis, lexical cohesion is an important unifying feature of the *Innana* text. The various types of lexical cohesion were found to work together to form relatively strong cohesive chains throughout most of the text. Lexical cohesion was also found to correlate well with the profile of the text, thus once again relating local cohesion with global coherence.

As to conjunction, we saw that Bontoc does not have a wide array of conjunctions and that the conjunctive relationship in Bontoc is regularly carried on the propositional level, especially in additive conjunction. With adversative, causal, and temporal conjunction, conjunctive particles are often used. But since the interpropositional relationships that group sentences into paragraphs were dealt with in chapter 2, the topic of conjunction, which is so closely related, was given only a cursory treatment here in chapter 4.

Enation and agnation are two other cohesive devices, used in the *Innana* text. They often work together with lexical cohesion to produce a stronger unity between sentences. Enation occurred in the *Innana* text when the author needed to give a list. Each of the preview paragraphs of the *Innana* displays enation. The examples of agnation are paraphrase paragraphs, which, after all, is to be expected, since in agnation the same thing is repeated with slight variation.

Chapter 5

Effectiveness

When is a text effective? If it is cohesive, is that sufficient? In an interesting study of the speech of thought-disoriented and non-thought-disoriented schizophrenics, Martin and Rochester (1975) studied the way schizophrenics and nonschizophrenics performed linguistically in three different speech situations: in the recall of a narrative which was read to them; in the description of a set of cartoon pictures; and in conversation heavily weighted in the subject's favor. Martin and Rochester carefully analyzed the cohesion of the texts produced both by schizophrenic and normal subjects, giving numerical values for reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion. Their results show that on the basis of these five categories, schizophrenic speech was undistinguished from normal speech. However, normal speakers did tend to increase the total number of cohesive ties by about 25%. They conclude that "schizophrenic speakers thus appear able to do the same things as normal do ... (but) ... they cannot do so as often" (Martin and Rochester 1975:305).

Even this margin of 25% is not necessarily conclusive, if the work of Gutwinski (1976:125, 131) is taken into account. Gutwinski studied approximately the same range of cohesive devices as Martin and Rochester, comparing their use in third-person narrative paragraphs of Henry James and Ernest Hemingway. These authors used radically different strategies to produce cohesive text. James used 93% grammatical cohesion and 7% lexical; Hemingway used 54% grammatical and 46% lexical. James used conjunctions as 2% of his strategy, Hemingway 7%. So it would seem that even normal English speakers are allowed greater leeway than the 25% difference which Martin and Rochester found. In their conclusion they state (1975:310):

> At one stage in our analysis we tried to see if the most disruptive segment for a given speaker was less cohesive or entailed more addition, more ambiguous reference, and less endophoric retrieval than the least disruptive passage. No evidence was found to confirm any of our hypotheses. It seems that while an analysis of cohesion and phoricity [anaphoric, cataphoric, exophoric, etc.—see Appendix 3] tells us some of what we expected to find, it is not reflecting absolutely what the native speaker feels about what constitutes smooth discourse in English.

This brings us back to the question of what makes a discourse effective? What is the difference between a cohesive text, which a schizophrenic speaker can produce, and an effective text, one which a native speaker intuitively responds to as being both meaningful and relevant? This difference, if we can discover it, should explain why normal people tend rather quickly to stop listening to a schizophrenic speaker (which, of course, is part of the problem since this switching off compounds the schizophrenic's frustration at being unable to communicate meaningfully).

Van Dijk (1977) discusses two types of coherence: linear or sequential coherence and global or overall coherence. Linear coherence includes most of what Halliday and Hasan (1976) call cohesion, while global coherence is determined by the macro-structures which "are themselves determined by the linear coherence of sequences" of propositions within the discourse (van Dijk 1977:95). Is global coherence, then, the missing link? If a schizophrenic could only impose global coherence on his speech, would that add the missing ingredient? Would that result in the normal attentive two-way conversation with other people that he craves?

To do this, he would first need to know what type of discourse he intended to produce. Then he would need to produce sentences which not only belonged together, but which together formed hierarchically structured paragraphs, conceptually relevant to the linear sequence of categories which together constitute the type of discourse chosen (van Dijk 1977:152-55). For example, for a narrative, the sentences must constitute first a setting category, followed by a complication category and a resolution category.

But even if a schizophrenic could produce a discourse that was cohesive at the sentence level and coherent at the discourse level, would it be effective? Not necessarily. For example, if when you spoke to your schizophrenic friend he gave you in return a word perfect rendition of the Gettysburg address, he would be indeed be producing such a discourse. What is lacking in this situation is relevance—unless, of course, you had asked, "Would you please recall for me the text of Abraham Lincoln's speech after the battle of Gettysburg?" All this simply illustrates that a discourse can at the same time be completely coherent but quite irrelevant. So then, to be effective, language must be cohesive at the local level, coherent at the global level, and relevant to the situation in which the speech act is made.

Discovering what contributes to effectiveness in language has been one of the main motivations in Austin Hale's linguistic research for many years. In 1973 he wrote: "We assume ... that there are at least three kinds of effectiveness conditions: ... coherence conditions, significance conditions, and background conditions" (Hale 1973:29). These three effectiveness conditions warrant expansion here. (In doing so I will quote freely from Hale 1973.)

Coherence conditions. Coherence constraints in discourse depend to a large extent on what type of discourse is to be produced. A narrative, for instance, requires some sort of sequence of events that is coherent in time, in place, and, to some extent, with respect to the participants involved. Such a sequence of events Hale calls the backbone of the narrative. This is very similar to what van Dijk (1977) terms the lowest-level macro-structure. For Hale, backbone correlates closely with the upper levels of the hierarchical structure of a text, be it narrative or otherwise. This is very similar to macro-structures, defined as being intimately involved in organizing "both the production and comprehension, storage and recall of complex verbal structures such as discourses" (van Dijk and Kintsch 1978:64). Van Dijk and Kintsch (ibid.) quote Bonnie Meyer's 1975 work on hierarchy, showing that those sentences "located high in this hierarchical structure are better recalled and more resistant against forgetting," thus tying macro-structure closely to the top levels of the hierarchy.

Discourses are distinguished both by their characteristic backbone types and by the other coherence constraints typical of that particular backbone type. For example, a narrative backbone requires temporal and location coherence constraints, which would not be relevant to a hortative backbone.

And finally, if a monologue is to be perceived as coherent, a recipient must be able to identify the backbone and to distinguish it from other backgrounded material in the discourse.

Significance conditions. Hale assumes that if a discourse is to be interpreted by a hearer or reader as significant, then it will, in some way, be understood to answer a question, solve a problem, or meet a challenge, whether implicit or explicit, which both speaker/writer and hearer/reader agree is relevant to the situation of the linguistic utterance. If a discourse fulfills the relevance requirements, then Hale expects that we should find scattered throughout the text something analogous to the role of evaluative material in first-person narrative, material which says in effect, "See, I *am* answering the question, or solving the problem, or meeting your challenge." In other words (Hale 1973:30):

> we expect ... to find that significance is related to a line of tension that runs between a complication, problem or provocation of one sort or another which occurs either prior to or at the beginning of a monologue, on the one hand, and a climax, resolution, solution, evaluation or the like that answers to it, resolving the tension, releasing the hearer, and signalling the beginning of the end of the monologue on the other. We assume that there are clues which enable hearers to identify material of this sort and thus to be able to distinguish it from the backbone. We refer to material ... directly related to the point of the monologue in this way as the focal content of the monologue.

Background conditions. Background material in a discourse is that material which fills out, explains, and supports the backbone of a discourse, and thus insures that the audience gets the point. It is neither

backbone nor focal content but is closely related to the knowledge bank of the speaker or writer and his assumptions about the knowledge banks of the audience.

The type of backbone to a large extent dictates what will be background and what foreground. Thus events, which form part of the event line of a narrative, are likely to be background in expository text; and explanatory material, which forms the backbone of expository text, will almost certainly be background in narrative text.

Hale, in a later work (1984), suggests that there are four, not three, systems at work within discourse. The first of these we have already discussed: backbone. This is the series of propositions that carry forward the central line of development in the text: For narrative that will be events; for exposition, explanations; for procedures, steps in the procedure; and for hortatory discourse, hortatory points. Interspersed with these are nonbackbone propositions that fulfill the role of backgrounded information.

To disentangle and thus highlight backbone propositions from those which need to be backgrounded, a speaker imposes a hierarchical structure onto the propositions by making backbone propositions logically more independent as texts of paragraphs, in which the backgrounded propositions are logically more dependent, filling supportive roles. This systematization of the propositions of a text into a hierarchical structure, Hale calls the tree system.

The effect of the tree system is not simply to bring backbone propositions to the top of the hierarchical structure, but to help reduce memory load by highlighting what is worthy of recall and to organize a discourse by categories, so that "one category may dominate a whole sequence of propositions, as represented by one macro-proposition ... e.g., SETTING, COMPLICATION, RESOLUTION, EVALUATION, MORAL" (van Dijk and Kintsch 1978:69). In doing this, the tree system controls everything in backbone: time and location settings, and switches, participant orientation, topicalization, thematic prominence, and backlooping. By manipulating, adding, and deleting whenever it is necessary, the tree system lays out the overall strategy of a discourse.

On a higher level again, and this time in a position to manipulate both backbone and trees, Hale suggests a system he calls files. The filing system links new information to old information in a way that is natural to the language. As a text progresses, new information or participants are either added to files already current, or new files are opened to accommodate them. And since these files must be kept up to date in the mind of the hearer/reader, they must be relatively few in number, so information and participants are often grouped into relevant files. In other words, a discourse would fail to communicate well if a speaker or author attempted to open too many files. Furthermore, there is reason to believe that files have file-specific coding devices in language, such that, as a speaker gives an item of new information, he encodes it so that the hearer/reader can automatically file it away in its relevant file. This filing system also includes the use of relevant scripts and frames, as well as the cohesion devices of reference and substitution.

The uppermost controlling system in discourse—in Hale's view—is focal content, the one that guarantees the significance of a text for the hearer. Focal content can exert pressure on any of the other three systems according to its goal of showing the relevance of text to the real-life situation. "This is the system concerned with gaining the attention of the audience, and holding it until the attempt has been fully played out" (Hale 1984). Attention-reinforcing devices include such things as foreshadowing, flashbacks, and evaluations, and since focal content is the system to guarantee significance, it has the freedom to transpose material and manipulate anything and everything in a discourse to achieve its goals.

Effectiveness and the *Innana text*. Of the four systems mentioned (backbone, trees, files, and focal content), the two that have received the least attention thus far are backbone and focal content. The hierarchical structure of the text was analyzed in chapter 2 under "paragraph types" and "paragraph structure", and part of what Hale includes in files was studied in chapter 4 under "sequential cohesion." Now, in chapter 5, we will look at each of the systems, beginning with backbone, as they apply to the *Innana* text, making brief comments on each, and finishing up with focal content.

5.1 Backbone

One way of looking at a text is in terms of multiple embedding. So if we find a stretch of narrative within a hortatory text, we expect the backbone of the embedded narrative to be characteristic of narrative

discourse; if we find explanation within a narrative text, we expect the backbone of the embedded explanation to be characteristic of expository discourse; if we find a number of procedural steps within an expository text, we expect the backbone of the embedded procedure to be characteristic of procedural discourse, and so on. The extreme of this point of view would be to insist that narrative text consists of only event line sentences, and that any stretch of explanation such as a setting or moral is an embedded expository discourse which is not an essential part of the narrative; that hortatory text consists of only hortatory sentences and that any stretch of narrative events is an embedded narrative discourse which is not an integral part of hortatory discourse; and so on for other discourse types.

Another way of viewing discourse is to recognize, with van Dijk and Kintsch (1978:69) and others, that any discourse type consists of a variety of segments which of necessity have different sentence types in their backbones. Thus a narrative discourse may be characterized by a setting, followed by a complication, a resolution, an evaluation, and a moral in which two or more backbone types are exemplified. The setting may be explanatory, the resolution would almost certainly be event-line narrative, and the moral may be hortatory. The extreme of this position would be to treat each distinct combination of backbone sentence types as a separate discourse genre. For example, explanatory backbone + narrative backbone + explanatory backbone would be one type of narrative discourse, while explanatory backbone + narrative backbone + hortatory backbone would be a distinct discourse type.

This, apparently, was the problem Reid (1970:114-17) was grappling with in his study of Central Bontoc. He discovered two apparently distinct types of procedural discourse, which he termed procedural and activity discourses. He wrote (1970:114): "Activity Discourse has characteristics of both Narrative and Procedural Discourse, yet is sufficiently distinct to warrant its being considered a separate discourse type." He found that activity and procedural discourse types have similar person orientation, tense orientation, and linkage, but differ in paragraph composition. In other words, activity and procedural discourse types were distinguished basically by backbone sentence type.

Our position vis-à-vis discourse types and backbone composition is similar to that of van Dijk and Kintsch (1978) in that we envisage each discourse genre as consisting of strands, each of which may have a different backbone sentence type. Thus a typical narrative may be explanatory backbone + narrative backbone + explanatory backbone. We would also allow for each discourse type to have a number of optional tagmemes and alternate backbone types from section to section within the discourse. So then narrative may be characterized thus: setting (explanatory backbone) + complication (narrative/explanatory backbone) + resolution (narrative backbone) + evaluation (explanatory backbone) + moral (explanatory/hortatory backbone). Furthermore, we would allow for embedding of discourses within a discourse, these embedded discourses perhaps filling a slot which, in another text of the same genre, would be filled by a paragraph of the same backbone sentence type.

Thus the *Innana* text may be seen as an expository text with the following composition: setting (explanatory backbone) + explanation (procedural backbone) + conclusion (explanatory backbone) + closure (explanatory sentence). However, in the *Innana* text, the explanation slot is filled by an embedded procedural discourse which itself has an introduction, a body, and a closure. In turn, the body of this EXPLANATION procedural discourse is expounded by a series of five embedded discourses, each of which have their own title, body, and closure. This structure is seen clearly in figure 82.

So when we look for backbone in the *Innana* text, we will expect one type of backbone in the SETTING, *Mangmang* ritual, and CONCLUSION, and another in the embedded procedural discourse. In the explanatory paragraphs we find that the norm is for backbone sentences to have nonverbal equative independent clauses. That explanatory paragraphs in the *Innana* text may at times diverge from this norm is not to deny the standard, but rather to illustrate that the predicate type in backbone sentences is one more feature of the language which the author can manipulate for special effect. Deviations, such as we find in the *Mangmang* ritual, should, of course, be explainable. By contrast, in embedded procedural discourse, we expect that backbone sentences would have either actor or goal focused active predicates. (Predicate characteristics of activity and procedural discourse in Central Bontoc are discussed in Reid 1970:128-34 and Reid 1971:21, 28.) When we look at the potential backbone sentences of the procedural discourses we find a wide variety of predicate types. The reason for this variety needs to be explained.

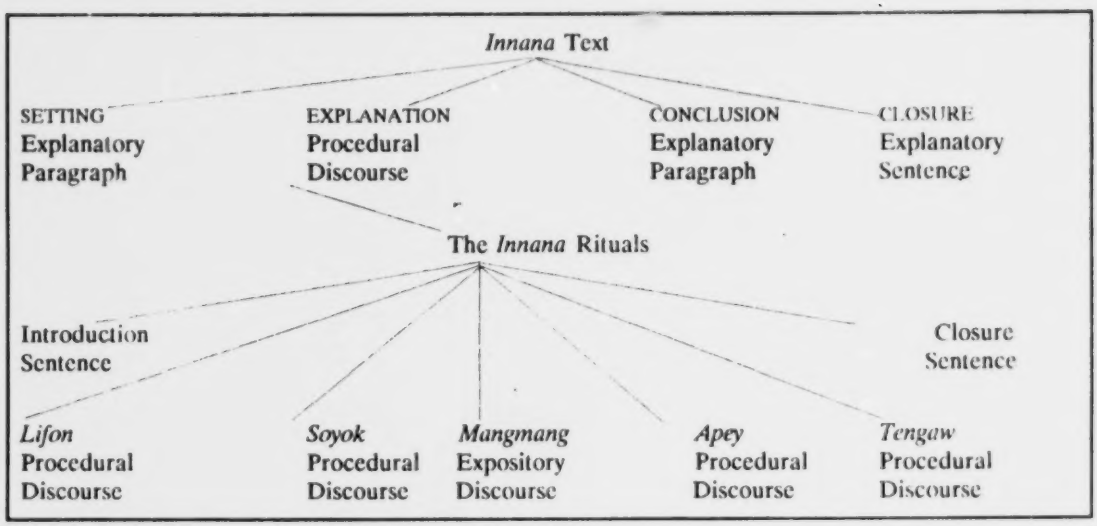

Fig. 82. Structure of the Innana text.

5.1.1 Backbone in the SETTING

In chapter 2 we described the paragraph structure of the SETTING as being a deictic paragraph, with sentence 1 as the text, and sentences 2-5 as the illustration. As with every deictic paragraph in the *Innana* text, each illustration is more static than the text. In other words, the explanatory weight of the paragraph is in the second rather than the first item. Longacre (1979:128-29) describes this type of paragraph as iambic, that is, weighted in the second item. This gives us, then, sentence 2 as the backbone sentence of the SETTING of the *Innana*:

> 2. The *Innana*, it is one of the best customs of long ago handed down to the people of Bontoc, Samoki, and the other villages. (Predicate: equational)

5.1.2 Backbone in the *Lifon* ritual

The backbone of the *Lifon* embedded procedural discourse is determined formally by the application of the second level of Hale's four systems: the tree system. Once hierarchical subordination and grouping have been achieved (on the basis of the semantic relations that exist between sentences), the sentences that emerge at the highest levels in the hierarchy can reasonably be considered potential backbone steps. Sentences 8, 10, 14, 17, 20, and 26 are the highest-level constituents, and at the moment they will be considered backbone sentences of the *Lifon* ritual:

> 8. The elders discuss whose pigs will be taken to be butchered. (Predicate: nonpast stative)
>
> 10. When they have reached a decision, they will go to get what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual, and they will cut it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual. (Predicate: coordinate nonpast active)
>
> 14. Those parts not to be distributed are taken to the house where they will gather. (Predicate: nonpast active)
>
> 17. The night of that *Lifon* ritual, the rich eat. (Predicate: nonpast active)
>
> 20. The people receive shares of meat. (Predicate: nonpast active)
>
> 26. When the *Lifon* ritual is finished, then they also begin the *Soyok* ritual. (Predicate: nonpast active)

Lifon Backbone

Backbone Sentences	Stative	: sentence 8	– Pre-step
	In-sequence Active	: sentences 10, 14, 17	– Steps
	Out-of-sequence Active	: sentence 20	– Terminus
	Transitional Active	: sentence 26	– Closure/Transition

Fig. 83. Lifon backbone sentences.

But of these six backbone sentences, which ones actually are steps in the procedure? At first glance, sentence 8 stands out, since its predicate is stative rather than active. As will be discussed in section 5.4.2.2, this is understood to be the result of focal content pressure on the backbone, downgrading an event from the status of step to the status of preparatory step of the ritual.

Sentence 20, also with an active predicate, is at the same time an out-of-sequence proposition, a paraphrase of sentence 11, and the nonweighted preview of an iambically weighted preview paragraph. Thus sentence 20 is taken off the procedural event line, and sentences 20-24 are put on the event line, not as a step, but as an explanatory terminus.

Sentence 26 is off the *Lifon* event line for a different reason. This sentence operates both as a closure for the *Lifon* embedded procedural ritual and as a transition sentence on the higher-level *Innana* EXPLANATION embedded procedural discourse. As the transition for this higher-level discourse, sentence 26 is made active.

This leaves sentences 10, 14, and 17 as the active predicate in-sequence procedural backbone sentences of the *Lifon* ritual. Preposed to the procedural strand of the *Lifon* ritual is a stative pre-step, and following the procedural strand an active terminus and an active closure. This gives the following structure for the *Lifon* ritual: title + pre-step (stative backbone sentence) + procedure (active backbone sentences) + terminus (active backbone sentence) + closure (active backbone sentence).

5.1.3 Backbone in the *Soyok* ritual

Applying the tree system of hierarchical organization to the *Soyok* ritual, we distill out sentences 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, and 44 as unembedded sentences, forming the backbone:

28. The *Soyok* ritual is similar to the *Lifon* ritual. (Predicate: equational)

31. The clan or household discuss who among them did not make their contribution last year. (Predicate: nonpast stative)

33. If the pig contributed by one person is bigger than his share, the excess of his contribution is replaced by a small pig or money. (Predicate: nonpast stative)

34. These pigs are butchered at the houses of their owners. (Predicate: nonpast stative)

35. Then they take it to the house where they will gather at night. (Predicate: nonpast active)

36. That night of the *Soyok* ritual, the clan or household who are gathered eat together. (Predicate: nonpast active)

44. When the people have finished the *Soyok* ritual, the *Mangmang* ritual is held the next day. (Predicate: equational)

The *Soyok* ritual has one more high-level sentence than the *Lifon*. Two of these do not qualify as procedural steps since they are equational. The first, sentence 28, is the text for an explanatory paragraph that forms a setting for the ritual, while the second is at once the *Soyok* closure and the *Innana* EXPLANATION procedural discourse transition sentence.

	Soyok Backbone		
Backbone Sentences	Equational	: sentence 28	– Setting
	Stative	: sentence 31	– Pre-step
		: sentence 33	– Contingency Step
		: sentence 34	– Pre-step
	In-sequence Active	: sentence 35	– Step
		: sentence 36	– Step
	Equational	: sentence 44	– Closure/Transition

Fig. 84. Soyok backbone sentences.

As will be seen in section 5.4.2.3, sentences 31 and 34 are downgraded to pre-step status under pressure from focal content and sentence 33 is downgraded to a contingency step, leaving sentences 35 and 36 as the in-sequence backbone sentences with active predicates. This gives us the following structure for the *Soyok* ritual: title + setting (equational backbone sentence) + pre-steps and contingency step (stative backbone sentences) + procedure (active backbone sentences) + closure (equational backbone sentence).

5.1.4 Backbone in the *Mangmang* ritual

The *Mangmang* ritual breaks all the rules. Although it is quite simple to describe the hierarchical structure of this explanatory paragraph, because of weighting considerations (each item in each paragraph is spondaically weighted, i.e., equally weighted) we cannot on grounds of hierarchy single out one sentence as the most likely candidate for the backbone of the explanatory paragraph.

Sentence 46	Item 1
Sentences 47-48	Item 2: Conjoining Paragraph
Sentence 47	Text
Sentence 48	Contrast

Fig. 85. The paragraph structure of the Mangmang conjoining paragraph.

On first blush it would seem that sentences 47 and 48 would be subordinate because embedded, but the author denies this in two ways: (1) by weighting independent clauses equally—this is normal for conjoining paragraphs unless one item is understood semantically and marked formally as a conclusion (Longacre 1979:129); and (2) by giving special emphasis to sentences 47 and 48. They are emphasized in three ways: by casting the verb of sentence 46 (which we would expect to be goal oriented) into the actor-focus mode, while keeping sentences 47 and 48 goal oriented (Reid 1967, 1968, suggests that this is a device for lowering the transitivity of sentence 46); by highlighting sentences 47 and 48 by means of fronted topics; and by the use of the modal adjunct *kannay* 'immediately' in sentence 47. This leaves us holding each sentence of the *Mangmang* as a potential backbone sentence.

One way to attempt to reach a satisfactory backbone for situations such as this in the *Mangmang* ritual, is to come up with a summary statement, condensing the information in the three sentences into one. In *Theme in English Expository Discourse*, Linda Jones (1977:146-47) did this to be able to succinctly state the themes of two of what she termed expository scripts: comparison script and contrast script. She found

that to adequately state the themes of these paragraphs she needed to make synthesized statements to represent the information contained in the scripts.

In the *Mangmang* ritual, however, this route is not necessary, if we understand the *Mangmang* text to be a summary of a ritual which in real life consists of a number of steps carried out in sequence. That the *Mangmang* ritual is presented in the *Innana* text devoid of sequence markers is attributable to the author's overall goals. However, in looking for the *Mangmang* backbone, there seems no reason why we should not consider each sentence of this section, even though together they form a single paragraph, to be backbone sentences of the ritual, as could be expected in highly compact summaries and abstracts:

46. Each household kills a chicken. (Predicate: nonpast active)

47. Those who butchered their pigs for the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, cook the head of their *Lifon* pig or *Soyok* pig together with the chicken. (Predicate: nonpast active)

48. The others add their (uncooked) share or their distributed share from the *Soyok* ritual. (Predicate: nonpast active)

49. The next day is the *Apey* ritual. (Predicate: equational)

The final sentence of this section, sentence 49, which has an equational predicate, is the closure of the *Mangmang* and the transition to the *Apey* ritual. Thus, for the *Mangmang* ritual we have the following structure: title + explanation (active backbone sentences) + closure (equational backbone sentence).

5.1.5 Backbone in the *Apey* ritual

The first two sentences of the *Apey* ritual present us with a problem similar to that discussed in the preceding section. Sentences 51 and 52 are in a conjoining relationship with active predicates. Here again the author, by the use of the particle *akhe* 'also', clearly indicates that neither is subordinate. Otherwise, a hierarchical analysis singles out sentences 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 63, 68, 69, 70, and 71 as those at the top level of the hierarchy, forming the backbone of the *Apey* ritual:

51. They get their (uncooked) share that they have salted or their distributed share from the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, to do the *Apey* ritual. (Predicate: nonpast active)

52. They also get rice wine or sugarcane wine to spit out as part of the *Apey* ritual. (Predicate: nonpast active)

53. When they go to their rice fields to do the *Apey* ritual, they kindle fire to cook the meat for the *Apey* ritual. (Predicate: nonpast active)

54. Then they get a *paloki* plant and spit rice wine onto it, saying, "I spit on you, *paloki*, so that the rice plants will grow tall, so that they will be free from rats, lizards, rice birds, and all that destroy the fields and the rice plants." (Predicate: nonpast active)

55. Then they insert the *paloki* between the stones of the rock wall or wedge it into a split stick and embed it in the rice field. (Predicate: nonpast coordinated active)

56. They just heat the salted meat which they use for the *Apey* ritual. (Predicate: nonpast active)

57. They transfer it to each of their fields, doing the same thing. (Predicate: nonpast active)

60. If the rice field for which they are doing the *Apey* ritual has its own spring, they use a chicken for the ritual. (Predicate: nonpast active)

63. When they have finished the *Apey* ritual in the rice fields, they bring home the meat used in the ritual to the house where they will eat. (Predicate: nonpast active)

68. On the morrow they go to catch fish. (Predicate: nonpast complex active)

69. On that day they take a plate of food to the parents of their children-in-law and to their parents-in-law who live in Bontoc and Samoki. (Predicate: nonpast active)

70. On the second day of catching fish, they take a plate of food to their relatives or parents-in-law in the villages. (Predicate: nonpast active)

71. On the next day again are the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals. (Predicate: equational)

Apey Backbone			
Backbone Sentences	Non-temporal-sequence Active	: sentences 51, 52	– Action Setting
	In-sequence Active	: sentences 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 63, 68, 69, 70	– Steps
	Equational	: sentence 71	– Closure/Transition

Fig. 86. Apey backbone sentences.

Of a total of twenty-one sentences in the *Apey* ritual, thirteen high-level sentences form the backbone. We have already mentioned that sentences 51 and 52, though active, are different from other sentences with active predicates. Rather than encode them as temporal sequence sentences the author has chosen to couple them into a single conjoining paragraph. By doing this he has taken them off the procedural event line and made them into an action setting.

Sentences 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 63, 68, 69, and 70 are all in temporal sequence with active predicates, and thus are procedural backbone sentences and steps in the procedure. Sentence 71 is an equational closure/transition sentence.

This gives us the following structure for the *Apey* ritual: title + setting (active backbone sentences) + procedure (active backbone sentences) + closure (equational backbone sentences).

5.1.6 Backbone in the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals

The *Patay* ritual is not accorded a separate title and section within the *Innana* text. This occurs because of pressure from the focal content and will be discussed in section 5.4.2.6. It should also be mentioned that the *Patay* ritual is encoded as a trochaically weighted deictic paragraph, consisting of two items expounded by embedded paragraphs, each of which is trochaically weighted in the first item. Thus the author indicates that sentence 73 is the backbone sentence of the *Patay* ritual.

Patay and *Tengaw* Backbone			
Backbone Sentences	Non-temporal-sequence Stative	: sentence 73	– Pre-step
	In-sequence Active	: sentences 77, 79	– Steps
	Stative	: sentence 81	– Closure

Fig. 87. Patay and Tengaw backbone sentences.

The hierarchical structure of the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals highlights sentences 73, 77, 79, and 81 as their backbone:

73. The old men first perform the *Patay* ritual. (Predicate: nonpast stative)

77. At night the children announce the *Tengaw* ritual. (Predicate: nonpast active)

79. The next day, the people observe the *Tengaw* ritual rest day. (Predicate: nonpast active)

81. On the next day, if there have been no untoward happenings, the people go to the fields. (Predicate: nonpast stative)

Sentence 73, with a stative predicate, even though potentially a step in a procedure, is downgraded by focal content pressure to become a pre-step of the *Tengaw* ritual. Sentences 77 and 79 have active predicates in temporal sequence and are steps in the *Tengaw* procedural discourse. The last sentence, sentence 81, is downgraded by focal content to become the closure for the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals.

This gives us the following structure for the *Tengaw* section of the *Innana* text: title + pre-step (stative backbone sentence) + procedure (active backbone sentences) + closure (stative backbone sentence).

5.1.7 Backbone in the CONCLUSION

The CONCLUSION of the *Innana* text is an iambically weighted deictic paragraph with two identifications, which are the backbone sentences of the paragraph. That these two identifications are equally weighted is indicated both by their structure and by the particle *akhes* 'also'. The CONCLUSION backbone sentences are:

84. That is when the children get to know their cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and other friends who have gathered with them. (Predicate: equational)

85. That also is what causes children to be encouraged to manage well so that they will have a contribution for the *Innana* rituals. (Predicate: equational)

5.1.8 A retrospect on backbone

In the introduction to chapter 5 we discussed the fact that to be effective a text must be more than simply cohesive on the sentence level. It must also be thematically coherent and situationally relevant. Hence this study of backbone and other effectiveness conditions. Now we also need to ask ourselves how well the *Innana* author has done in producing a coherent backbone.

In the SETTING the author introduced his topic: the *Innana* rituals. Then to help his readers follow his forthcoming development of the topic, he gave us (as an embedded explanatory paragraph) a quick table of contents in sentence 4, outlining the six rituals in chronological order. The following five sections kept to this order, developing each ritual in turn as an embedded procedural discourse, apart from the *Mangmang*, which was developed under focal content pressure as an expository discourse, and the *Patay*, which—again under pressure from focal content—was embedded in the section devoted to the *Tengaw* ritual. And finally, in the CONCLUSION the author made relevant comments on the rituals as a whole, pointing out the importance of these rituals to the Bontoc way of life and their contribution to clan and

Embedded Procedural Discourse =	+ Title
	± Setting (equational/ active backbone sentences)
	± Pre-steps and Contingency
	Pre-steps (stative backbone sentences)
	+ Procedure (active backbone sentences)
	± Terminus (active backbone sentences)
	+ Closure (active/stative/equational backbone sentences)

Fig. 88. Structure of an embedded procedural discourse in the Innana text.

family relations. Thus the *Innana* text is quite clearly a well-structured coherent whole, demonstrating what Agar and Hobbs (1982) refer to as thematic coherence.

We saw in chapter 2 that the *Innana* text displays a clear and open structure, both on the discourse level and on the paragraph level. In chapter 3 we saw that the author of the *Innana* controlled tension in the text by manipulating tense/aspect, voice, and hierarchy to indicate the relative importance of various aspects of the text. Then in chapter 4, using Halliday and Hasan's cohesion criteria, we saw that the *Innana* text displays excellent cohesion. And now in this section on backbone we have seen how the author has given us a backbone for the whole text which, while involving many different strands with a variety of sentence types, gives us a good summary of the text.

Discourses are made up of a number of strands, each of which may be characterized by a different sentence type. An analysis of the four procedural rituals, the *Soyok*, *Lifon*, *Apey*, and *Tengaw*, produces the structure seen in figure 88.

5.2 Trees

Hale (1984) envisages backbone, trees, files, and focal content to be in a pecking order. This is a barnyard analogy. Fowls establish a dominance hierarchy in which one dominates all others in social interaction; another is dominated by all others; and every other fowl ranges in-between in a dominating/dominated-by scale. In the four systems of language, backbone is dominated, manipulated, and distorted by trees, files, and focal content; trees are dominated only by files and focal content; and files are manipulated only by focal content.

There are three main ways in which the tree system manipulates the backbone: (1) by grouping propositions so that some are subordinated and some are highlighted, thus forming the backbone of the discourse; (2) by the fronting of time or location settings or thematic nominals to give them a greater-than-single-sentence span; and (3) by the deletion of redundant time or location settings. In sections 5.2.1-5.2.7 these will be discussed as they affect each part of the *Innana* text.

5.2.1 The pressure of trees on the backbone of the SETTING

The SETTING of the *Innana* text includes eleven propositions, on which the tree system exerts pressure.

(1) Grouping and subordination.

In sentence 2 are two propositions, the first with an equational predicate, and the second, which is subordinated to it, with a stative predicate:

2. Nan Innana, esa ay kakhawisan ay ekhad id sangad-om ay
FM Innana one LK very.good LK custom at long.ago LK

(***subordinating link***) *mawanwaned idwanin isnan ili ay Fontok,*
inherit now NFM village LK Bontoc

Samoki ya nan tap-in nan kafakhaang.
Samoki and FM rest POSS village

2. The *Innana*, it is one of the best customs of long ago handed down to the people of Bontoc, Samoki and the other villages.

(2) Fronted time, location, and topics.

Sentence 4 has five propositions that form an embedded paragraph, embedded within a single sentence. This is an example of grouping and subordination as above (1). At the same time it is an example of fronting, the second of the ways that the tree system manipulates the backbone. The pressure of trees on backbone, as illustrated in sentence 4, results in an initial time setting which spans the following five propositions.

*4a. **Isnan timpon nan Innana**, maangnen omona nan Lifon;*
NFM time.of POSS Innana is.done first FM Lifon

4a. **At the time of the *Innana***, the *Lifon* ritual is done first;

4b. mikadwa, maangnen nan Soyok;
second is.done FM Soyok

4b. second, the *Soyok* ritual is done;

4c. maikatlo, maangnen nan Mangmang;
third is.done FM Mangmang

4c. third, the *Mangmang* ritual is done;

4d. mikap-at maangnen nan Apey;
fourth is.done FM Apey

4d. fourth, the *Apey* ritual is done;

4e. mikalima, maangnen nan Patay ya nan Tengaw.
fifth is.done FM Patay and FM Tengaw

4e. and fifth, the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals are done.

Both sentences 2 and 5 illustrate how, in explanation, topics rather than time or location tend to be fronted:

*5. **Nan kadchakhopan nan lima ay inon-onko** siya nan makwanin Innana.*
FM all.together POSS five LK detail.I this FM call,QF Innana

5. **The five rituals that I have outlined, are together** called the *Innana* rituals.

(3) Deletion of time and location settings.

In sentence 4 above, in which the fronted time construction spans the following propositions, the time setting of all but the first is deleted.

5.2.2 The pressure of trees on the backbone of the *Lifon* ritual

The *Lifon* ritual has twenty-three separate propositions (some of which are potential steps in a procedure and others purely explanatory) on which the tree system exerts pressure.

(1) Grouping and subordination.

The function of the tree system in the *Lifon* ritual is to subordinate explanation to procedural propositions. This is well illustrated on the paragraph level in sentences 14-16 where description (in sentences 15 and 16) is subordinated to a step in the procedure (sentence 14):

14. Nan nay chay eg-ay nafingit eyeycha isnan afong ay
FM this those,LK not share take.they NFM house LK

maamongancha.
gathering.place.their

14. Those parts not to be distributed are taken to the house where they will gather.

15. Nan nay Lifon, siya nan manganan nan kakachangyan.
FM this Lifon it FM eating.time POSS rich.person,PL

15. This *Lifon* ritual is the time when the rich celebrate.

16. Nay met achi, mafalin ay makifingit nan ib-a ay
this PART PART possible LK share.with FM friend,PL LK

poposi.
poor.person,PL

16. But poor friends can also be given a share.

Subordination also is a means of suppressing potential steps to an explanatory role, but as this is seen as a pressure of focal content on backbone, it is not discussed here.

(2) Fronted time, location, and topics.

Sentences 14 and 15 above both illustrate fronting of topics. Sentence 17 illustrates a fronted time setting:

*17. **Isnan maschem nan chey ay Lifon**, mangan chay kakachangyan.*
NFM night POSS that LK Lifon eat they,LK rich.person,PL

17. **The night of that *Lifon* ritual**, the rich eat.

(3) Deletion of time and location settings.

Sentence 18, which is embedded within an illustration paragraph in which sentence 17 is the text, illustrates deletion of the time setting of this proposition. The time setting of sentence 17 spans the whole paragraph:

18. Maam-among nan sinpangapo paymo nan sinpangafong yangkhay.
gather FM clan or FM household only

18. The whole clan or just the household gather.

5.2.3 The pressure of trees on the backbone of the *Soyok* ritual

The *Soyok* ritual also has a mixture of propositions, twenty in all, some of which are explanatory, while others are potential steps in the procedure.

(1) Grouping and subordination.

As was the case with the *Lifon* ritual, in the *Soyok* ritual propositions are grouped and subordinated both within sentences and within paragraphs. However, in the *Soyok*, nearly 20 percent more propositions are subordinated within sentences than in the *Lifon*. For example, in sentence 33, an explanatory proposition is subordinated to a potential procedural step:

*33. **Mo nan walak nan esa ay maala** ya inmawas et matokachan*
if FM share POSS one LK take and excessive CONJ compensate

is fan-ig ay fotog paymo siping.
NFM small LK pig or money

33. **If the pig contributed by one person is bigger than his share**, the excess of his contribution is replaced by a small pig or money.

(2) Fronted time, location, and topics.

The pattern of fronting time, location, and thematic topics has already been illustrated in previous settings. However, in the *Soyok* ritual we have the phenomenon of subsidiary time settings within a global paragraph time frame. Sentence 36 sets the paragraph time frame for a paragraph including sentences 36 to 43. Sentences 38 and 39 specify more local time settings:

*36. **Isnan chey ay maschem si Soyok**, mangan nan maam-among ay*
NFM that LK night POSS Soyok eat FM gather LK

sinpangapo paymo sinpangafong.
clan or household

36. **That night of the *Soyok* ritual**, the clan or household who are gathered eat together.

*38. **Isnan timpo ay cha maoto nan watwat**, mangay-ayyeng nan*
NFM time LK CONT cook FM meat sing.ayyeng FM

amam-a.
old.man,PL

38. **While the meat is cooking**, the old men sing the *ayyeng* song.

*39. **Mo mangancha** tomke nan ayyeng.*
when eat.they stop FM ayyeng

39. **When they eat**, they stop singing the *ayyeng* song.

(3) Deletion of redundant time and location settings.

In sentence 40 time setting is deleted, following as it does upon sentence 39, which exhibits time setting:

40. Miwatwat nan sibfancha yangkhay.
share FM viand.their only

40. Only meat to be eaten is distributed.

5.2.4 The pressure of trees on the backbone of the *Mangmang* ritual

There are a number of ways in which the *Mangmang* ritual differs from other *Innana* rituals. First, there are no subordinated propositions attributable to the pressure of the tree system. Second, there are no fronted time settings, only fronted topics, which is more characteristic of explanatory than of procedural discourse. Third, the *Mangmang* ritual is extremely brief. Many steps of the procedure are obviously omitted. We are never really told what all is included in the ritual. That the meat is cooked, that the people gather, and that they eat, all of which are made explicit in the *Soyok*, are simply implied here in the *Mangmang* text, which is a highly compact summary of what happens in this ritual.

5.2.5 The pressure of trees on the backbone of the *Apey* ritual

The *Apey* ritual contains many more propositions than either the *Lifon* or *Soyok*, but fewer of these, proportionately, are explanatory.

(1) Grouping and subordination.

The *Apey* ritual contains, on average, 1.9 propositions for each sentence of the ritual. This compares with 1.2 for the *Lifon* and 1.4 for the *Soyok*. In other words, on the sentence level the *Apey* subordinates more propositions than either the *Lifon* or the *Soyok*.

On the paragraph level, however, the reverse is true. The *Apey* has an average of 3.08 propositions for each paragraph (high-level sentence), the *Soyok* 3.43, and the *Lifon* 3.83. This pattern is repeated when we compare the numbers of sentences in these rituals for each high-level sentence.

(2) Fronted time, location, and topics.

Because of its more dynamic structure, the *Apey* ritual shows a complete lack of fronted topics, which are characteristic of explanation rather than procedure. Fronted time settings are, however, frequent, and there is one fronted location.

(3) Deletion of time and location settings.

As propositions are joined together into sentences, many time and location settings are inevitably deleted. For the forty *Apey* propositions there remain six temporal settings and sixteen locative settings.

5.2.6 The pressure of trees on the backbone of the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals

The final two rituals of the *Innana* text are subsumed under a single title *Tengaw*, which indicates by neglect the lower status of the *Patay* ritual. This is a focal content pressure and will be discussed in section 5.4.2.6.

The *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals differ sharply from the *Lifon*, *Soyok*, and *Apey* rituals in that only once is more than one proposition encoded in a single sentence; even then, the position of that sentence is significant. It occurs after the *Tengaw* ritual is completed, and is the sentence which terminates not only the *Tengaw*, but the whole *Innana* set of rituals, sentence 81:

81. Kasin mawakas mo khawis nan fatawa, mamoknagchat nan takho.	81. On the next day, if there have been no untoward happenings, the people go to the fields.
again morrow if good FM world go.to.field.they,PART FM person	

Sentence 81 illustrates each of the operations the tree system exerts on backbone. First, two propositions (each one a potential procedural step) are grouped: the looking for omens and the going to the field. Second, the time setting is fronted, and looking for omens is made into a conditional setting for the second proposition. Finally, the original time setting for the going to look for omens is deleted, and is irrecoverable.

5.2.7 The pressure of trees on the backbone of the CONCLUSION

Like the SETTING, the CONCLUSION contains a large number of embedded propositions.

(1) Grouping and subordination.

Five of the seven sentences of the CONCLUSION contain subordinated propositions. Two of them contain multiple subordinated propositions. Sentence 83 is an example:

83. Nan mangwaniyak ay khawis nan Innana ay ekhad ay
FM say.I LK good FM Innana LK custom LK
mawanwaned, tay isnan Innana maam-among nan kaapona
inherit because NFM Innana gather FM generation
paymo nan sinpangafong.
or FM household

83. The reason that I say that the *Innana* rituals are good customs handed down, is because at the *Innana* rituals the clan or household gathers.

Sentence 83 could be broken down into four constituent propositions: The generations or household gather for the *Innana* rituals. The *Innana* rituals are handed down to children at the gathering. The *Innana* rituals are good. I am affirming these things.

(2) Fronted time, locations, and topics.

Six of the seven CONCLUSION sentences have fronted topics, some of which are quite complex as in sentence 83 above. Sentence 88 has what might seem to be fronted time setting, but it is in fact a topicalized time setting:

88. Nan pay katawetawen!
FM again year,PL

88. How about for other years!

5.2.8 Summary of the pressure of trees on backbone

In her experiments published in 1975, Bonnie Meyer showed that "sequences of sentences from a discourse [are] assigned a hierarchical structure based on rhetorical categories denoting the specific relations between the sentences, such as specification, explication or cause," and that "the sentences located high on this hierarchical structure are better recalled and more resistant against forgetting" (van Dijk and Kintsch 1978:64-65). This grouping to facilitate comprehension by reducing the number of independent discourse units that need to be retained in the memory Hale sees as one of the most important roles of the tree system. Thus the pressure exerted by the tree system on the backbone has a role in the overall coherence of the text: it subordinates material which, although perhaps necessary for complete comprehension, is not cardinal to the backbone of the particular discourse type. As we have seen, trees, in order to achieve this goal, exert pressure on the backbone in three ways: (1) by subordinating propositions within sentences and sentences within paragraphs, (2) by fronting, for example, of time settings in procedural discourse and topics in explanatory paragraphs, and (3) by deletion when appropriate.

5.3 Files

"The function of files structure is that of facilitating continuity of reference within a discourse and that of regulating the rate and manner in which new information is linked to old" (Hale 1984). Included within the file system are all the devices a language uses to link new information to old, give structure to content and be able to refer to it, and link new information given within the context of the discourse to the assumed knowledge banks of the recipient.

If the filing system is a genuine part of a language, then it should be possible to trace files in the surface structure, and we would expect that each file in a monologue would have its own unique index system. This is indeed the case. In illustration, we will trace three files in the *Innana* text in sections 5.3.1

and 5.3.2 and show how each file uses a different combination of filing devices to trace its successive referents through the text.

The first file we will trace is the time file, the second the people file, and the third the pig file. These second and third files are particularly interesting, because here we examine two participants whose files are potentially similar. Both are represented by nominal groups that may be in focus or out of focus, or they may be made prominent by fronting or nonprominent and encoded in equational, existential, or verbal predicates. However, it should be noted at the outset that though these files use many similar grammatical encoding devices, the members of one file are normally agents, while the members of the other are normally patients. This distinction must account for at least some of the difference in encoding devices.

5.3.1 The time file

The time file is opened and kept open in the *Innana* text in one of three ways: (1) by relating time to ages, years, or seasons; (2) by relating the time of one action to another (temporal sequence); (3) by relating time to days and hours.

5.3.1.1 Ages, years, and seasons

It is perhaps to be expected that an author would begin a discourse by placing the forthcoming action in a time setting. In the *Innana* text the author starts with the big picture and then becomes increasingly specific. He also starts the time file with nonprominent entries and then increasingly uses more prominent ones:

2. Nan Innana, esa ay kakhawisan ay ekhad ***id sangad-om*** *ay*
FM Innana one LK very.good LK custom at long.ago LK

mawanwaned idwanin isnan ili ay Fontok, Samoki ya nan tap-in
inherit now NFM village LK Bontoc Samoki and FM rest

nan kafakhaang.
POSS village

2. The *Innana*, it is one of the best customs **of long ago** handed down to the people of Bontoc, Samoki, and the other villages.

The first entry, sentence 2, gives us a historical perspective and opens the file with a postnuclear nonprominent time reference. The second reference to the time file comes in the next sentence:

3. Maangnen nan nay Innana ***isnan tinawen ay kalpasan nan kifos***
is.done FM this Innana NFM each.year LK finish.time FM end

si sama ya toned isnan chinakhon.
POSS field.work and plant NFM each.dry.season

3. This *Innana* ritual is done **every year just after the end of working of the fields and the planting in the dry season.**

This time entry is more specific than the first, locating the *Innana* rituals within the Bontoc rice-growing cycle. It is also made more prominent by being expanded. The third reference to the time file is in the following sentence, sentence 4:

4a. ***Isnan timpon nan Innana****, maangnen omona nan Lifon;*
NFM time.of POSS Innana is.done first FM Lifon

4a. **At the time of the *Innana***, the *Lifon* ritual is done first;

4b. mikadwa. maangnen nan Soyok;
second is.done FM Soyok

4b. second, the *Soyok* ritual is done;

4c. maikatlo, maangnen nan Mangmang;
third is.done FM Mangmang

4c. third, the *Mangmang* ritual is done;

4d. mikap-at maangnen nan Apey;
fourth is.done FM Apey

4d. fourth, the *Apey* ritual is done;

4e. mikalima, maangnen nan Patay ya nan Tengaw.
fifth is.done FM Patay and FM Tengaw

4e. and fifth, the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals are done.

By sentence 4 the time entry is in a prominent fronted position, and it is very specific. These three entries in the time file serve to tie the whole discourse into a historical, yearly, and seasonal perspective. Notice that in sentence 2 the author made use of the time marker *id*, while in sentences 3 and 4 he used the nonfocus case-marking particle combination *isnan*. There is also a third option, and that is the anaphoric case-marking particle combination, *issan*, as illustrated in sentence 47:

47. San cheychay naala paymo nakhekhed nan fotogcha issan Lifon
FM those,LK take or divide FM pig.their NFM Lifon
paymo issan Soyok et iikemcha kannay san olon san nailifon
or NFM Soyok CONJ add.they immediately FM head POSS for.Lifon
paymo naisoyok ay fotogcha.
or for.Soyok LK pig.their

47. Those who butchered their pigs for the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, cook the head of their *Lifon* pig or *Soyok* pig together with the chicken.

So we see that one of the ways in which the author of the *Innana* text builds up his time file is to relate the events of the text to the real world of history, years, and seasons of the year. These are homophoric references (see Appendix 3) and serve to place the *Innana* rituals in their real-world context. From this point on in the text, time file entries will be anaphoric or cataphoric, all making time references within the discourse itself.

5.3.1.2 Time relations between actions

The *Innana* text indicates three different kinds of temporal sequence relations between events: (1) prior action, (2) temporal overlap, and (3) temporal sequence.

(1) Prior action.

The only instance of prior action in the *Innana* text occurs at the beginning of the *Tengaw* section. The subtitle *Tengaw* implies that the section will deal only with the *Tengaw* ritual, but in fact the *Patay* ritual precedes the *Tengaw*. So the author has used the particle *ona* 'first':

*72. **Tengaw**.*
Tengaw

72. The *Tengaw* ritual.

*73. Mamatay **ona** nan amam-a.*
do.Patay first FM old.man,PL

73. The old men **first** perform the *Patay* ritual.

(2) Temporal overlap.

In the *Innana* text there are three kinds of temporal overlap:

(1) two events occurring, as far as the author is concerned, as part of the same compound action;

(2) two events which are going on at the same time; and

(3) two events which happen on the same day, whether or not they actually occur at the same time.

An example of the first is in sentence 47—the action is understood to be part of the same compound action as sentence 46. This is marked by the adverb *kannay* 'at the same time':

46. Waschin infaig nan takho isnan manok.
each beat FM person NFM chicken

46. Each household kills a chicken.

47 San cheychay naala paymo nakhekhed nan fotogcha issan Lifon
FM those,LK take or divide FM pig.their NFM Lifon

*paymo issan Soyok et itkemcha **kannay** san olon san nailifon*
or NFM Soyok CONJ add.they immediately FM head POSS for.Lifon

paymo naisoyok ay fotogcha.
or for.Soyok LK pig.their

47. Those who butchered their pigs for the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, cook the head of their *Lifon* pig or *Soyok* pig **together** with the chicken.

Another example is sentences 37 and 38. Sentence 37 tells us what parts of the pig are cooked for the *Soyok* feast. In sentence 38, while the meat is being cooked, the men chant the *ayyeng* song. This co-terminous relationship is signaled at the beginning of sentence 38:

*38. **Isnan timpo ay cha maoto nan watwat**, mangay-ayyeng nan*
NFM time LK CONT cook FM meat sing.ayyeng FM

amam-a.
old.man,PL

38. **While the meat is cooking**, the old men sing the *ayyeng* song.

Sentences 68 and 69 illustrate two events that happen on the same day:

68 Isnan kawaksana encha mangachiw.
NFM tomorrow.time.its go.they catch.fish

68. On the morrow they go to catch fish.

*69. **Isnan chey ay akhew** igkhiyakhancha nan aliwidcha ya*
NFM that LK day carry.plate.they FM relative.in.law.their and

nan katokhangancha isnan Fontok ya id Samoki.
FM parent.in.law.their NFM Bontoc and at Samoki

69. **On that day** they take a plate of food to the parents of their children-in-law and to their parents-in-law who live in Bontoc and Samoki.

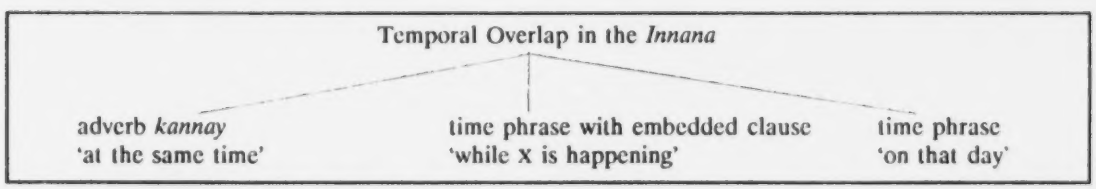

Fig. 89. Temporal overlap in the Innana.

(3) Temporal sequence.

Temporal sequence is marked in five different ways in the *Innana* text:

(1) When order is not important, it is marked by the adverb *akhes* 'also' and the conjunction *ya* 'and'.

(2) When order is important and is, moreover, in focus, temporal sequence is marked by the use of ordinal numbers.

(3) When the beginning of an event is contingent on the completion of another, temporal sequence is marked by the use of a time clause.

(4) Temporal sequence may be marked by the use of a sequence marker.

(5) Temporal sequence frequently is unmarked formally, but in such a case is semantically contingent. Examples of each of these kinds of temporal sequence follow.

An example of temporal sequence when order is not important (1, above) is found in sentences 51 and 52. Together these sentences form a conjoining paragraph that makes up the action setting of the *Apey*

ritual. It is irrelevant whether the action of sentence 52 occurs before or after that of sentence 51. This is marked by the adverb *akhes* 'also':

51. Omala cha issan inasinancha ay pasingcha paymo finingitcha
get they NFM salt.their LK share.their or distribute.their
issan Lifon paymo issan Soyok is iyapeycha.
NFM Lifon or NFM Soyok NFM do.Apey.they

51. They get their (uncooked) share that they have salted or their distributed share from the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, to do the *Apey* ritual.

*52. Omala cha **akhes** is tapey paymo fayyas si*
get they also NFM rice.wine or sugarcane.wine FM
seng-ewcha ay mangapey.
spit.they LK do.Apey

52. They **also** get rice wine or sugarcane wine to spit out as part of the *Apey* ritual.

When the order of events is in focus, as in sentence 4, ordinal numbers are used:

*4a. Isnan timpon nan Innana, maangnen **omona** nan Lifon;*
NFM time.of POSS Innana is.done first FM Lifon

4a. At the time of the *Innana*, the *Lifon* ritual is done **first**;

*4b. **mikadwa**, maangnen nan Soyok;*
second is.done FM Soyok

4b. **second**, the *Soyok* ritual is done;

*4c. **maikatlo**, maangnen nan Mangmang;*
third, is.done FM Mangmang

4c. **third**, the *Mangmang* ritual is done;

*4d. **mikap-at**, maangnen nan Apey*
fourth is.done FM Apey

4d. **fourth**, the *Apey* ritual is done;

*4e. **mikalima**, maangnen nan Patay ya nan Tengaw.*
fifth is.done FM Patay and FM Tengaw

4e. and **fifth**, the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals are done.

An example of the use of a time clause to signal that the beginning of an event is contingent on the completion of another is in sentence 10. (Sentences 10, 26, 39, and 44 all illustrate this.) Sentence 10 illustrates three temporal sequence devices. First, there is a contingent time clause. Second, there is the particle *et* signaling immediate action, which is abbreviated to *-t* in *enchat*. Third, there is the conjunction *et*, coordinating the two independent clauses into a temporal sequence:

*10. **Mo nakhaeb nan totyacha,** **enchat** **alaen** nan*
if made FM discussion.their go.they,PART get FM
*ilifoncha **et** khekhechencha isnan afob-ong nan chey ninkwa*
for.Lifon.their CONJ divide.they NFM house,PL POSS those owner
isnan fotog ay milifon.
POSS pig LK for.Lifon

10. **When they have reached a decision**, they will go to what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual, **and** they will cut it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual.

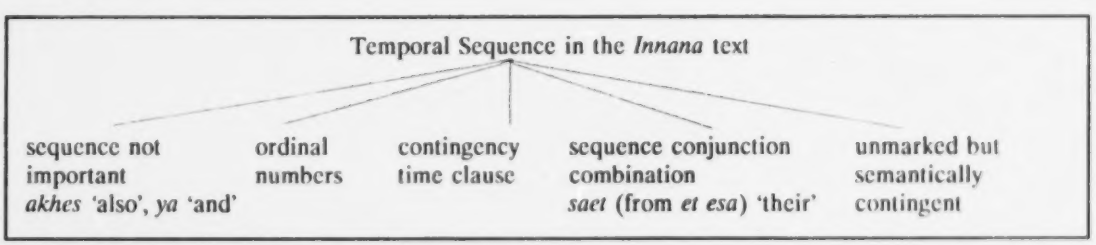

Fig. 90. Temporal sequence in the Innana text.

An example of a sequence marker was already given in sentence 10 above, the sequential conjunction *et*. Another sequential conjunction frequently used in the *Innana* text is *esa*, abbreviated to *sa* and joined to *et* to become *saet*. This conjunction combination may occur sentence initially or sentence medially, often in combination with the pronoun *cha* to become *sachat*:

*55. **Sachat** isokfit nan paloki iska toping paymo sipitencha*
then.they,PART insert FM paloki LOC rock.wall or wedge.they

*isnan lolo, **sachat** ipadsek isnan kapayew.*
NFM stick then.they,PART embed NFM LOC,rice.field

55. **Then they** insert the *paloki* between the stones of the rock wall or wedge it into a split stick **and** embed it in the rice field.

An example of temporal sequence that is not formally marked is in sentences 56 and 57, following upon sentence 55:

56. Kelnatencha yangkhay nan inasin ay iyapeycha.
warm.they only FM salted.meat LK do.Apey.they

56. They just heat the salted meat which they use for the *Apey* ritual.

57. Iyat-atoncha na isnan kapayepayewcha.
transfer.they it NFM LOC,rice.field,PL,their

57. They transfer it to each of their fields, doing the same thing.

5.3.1.3 Days and hours

That this section is treated separately from temporal sequence does not imply that reference to days and hours is not temporal sequence. But since the *Innana* rituals cover a total of eight days, and since many events of the *Innana* occur in the evenings, time references to days and evenings are frequent.

These time references can be divided into three sets: (1) those referring to evening activities; (2) those identifying what will happen the next day; and (3) those in which the day is identified by an activity.

(1) Evening activities.

Each of the three main feasts of the *Innana* rituals occurs in the evening, for example, the *Apey* feast in sentence 64:

*64. **Isnan maschem** milokhi nan am-among isnan Apey.*
NFM night begin FM gathering NFM Apey

64. **At night** the gathering for the *Apey* ritual begins.

Such a time reference can be made anaphoric by the use of a demonstrative pronoun. When the author of the *Innana* text makes this time reference anaphoric, he also relates it to an activity. In sentence 36 it is related to the evening of the *Soyok* ritual, mentioned in sentence 35:

*35. Sachat eyey isnan afong ay maamongancha **isnan***
then.they,PART take NFM house LK gathering.place.their NFM

***maschem**.*
night

35. Then they take it to the house where they will gather **at night**.

*36. **Isnan chey ay maschem si Soyok, mangan nan** maam-among ay*
NFM that LK night POSS Soyok eat FM gather LK

sinpangapo paymo sinpangafong.
clan or household

36. **That night of the *Soyok* ritual**, the clan or household who are gathered eat together.

(2) Next-day activities.

Throughout the eight days of the *Innana* rituals every new day except for one is formally indicated by a 'next day' phrase of some sort. The simplest of these is 'on the morrow', as in sentence 49:

*49. **Isnan kawaksana** Apey.*
NFM tomorrow.time.its Apey

49. **The next day** is the *Apey* ritual.

To this may be added an anaphoric auxiliary *kasin* 'again', as in sentence 71:

*71. **Mawakas kasin** Patay ya Tengaw.*
morrow again Patay and Tengaw

71. **On the next day again** are the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals.

(3) Activity-identified day or hour.

We have already seen in sentence 36 above that an evening can be identified by an activity. This is also true of days, as in sentence 70:

*70. **Isnan pidwan si kachiw** igkhiyakhancha nan alilwidcha paymo*
NFM second NFM fish carry.plate.they FM relative.their or
katokhangancha isnan kafakhaang.
parent.in.law.their NFM village

70. **On the second day of catching fish**, they take a plate of food to their relatives or parents-in-law in the villages.

Activity-oriented time references can also be made using the suffix *-an*. For example, in sentence 35 above, we have *maamongancha* 'their time of gathering'. The *-an* suffix means 'time of'.

5.3.1.4 Tracing the time file of the *Innana* text

In sections 5.3.1.1-5.3.1.3 we saw the many devices the author of the *Innana* text uses to track time in his text. In this section we will go through the text noting where the time file is kept up to date. (In the

2.	postpredicate time phrase: 'long ago' (5.3.1.1)
3.	postpredicate time phrase, more specific: 'every year just after the end of the working of the fields and the planting in the dry season' (5.3.1.1)
4.	fronted time phrase: 'at the time of the *Innana*' (5.3.1.1)
	ordinal sequence: 'first, second, third, fourth, fifth' (5.3.1.2(3))
10.	fronted time clause: 'when they have reached a decision' (5.3.1.2(3))
	immediate action particles: *et* (5.3.1.2(3))
	temporal sequence conjunction: *et* (5.3.1.2(3))
14.	temporal suffix: *-an* 'time of' (5.3.1.3(3))
17.	fronted time phrase, with anaphoric demonstrative pronoun, and connected with an activity: 'the night of that *Lifon* ritual' (5.3.1.3)
26.	fronted time clause: 'when the *Lifon* ritual is finished' (5.3.1.2(3))
	temporal sequence conjunction combination: *saet* (5.3.1.2(3))
	adverb: *akhes* 'also' (5.3.1.2(3))
35.	temporal sequence conjunction combination: *sact* (5.3.1.2(3))
	temporal suffix: *-an* 'time of' (5.3.1.3(3))
	postnuclear time phrase: 'at night' (5.3.1.3(1))
36.	fronted time phrase, with anaphoric demonstrative pronoun, and connected with an activity: 'that night of the *Soyok* ritual' (5.3.1.3(1))
38.	fronted time phrase with embedded clause indicating temporal overlap: 'while the meat is cooking' (5.3.1.2(2))

Fig. 91. The Innana time file.

39. fronted time clause: 'when they eat' (5.3.1.2(3))

41. postnuclear time phrase with embedded activity linked-time clause including two temporal suffixes: 'after they have finished eating' (5.3.1.3(3))

44. fronted time clause: 'when the people have finished the *Soyok* ritual' (5.3.1.2(3))
immediate action particle: *et* (5.3.1.2(3))
time phrase: 'the next day' (5.3.1.3(2))
immediate action particle: *et* (5.3.1.2(3))

47. temporal adverb: *kannay* 'immediately' (5.3.1.2(2))

49. fronted time phrase: 'the next day' (5.3.1.3(2))

52. adverb: *akhes* 'also' (5.3.1.2(3))

53. fronted time clause: 'when they go to their rice fields to do the *Apey* ritual' (5.3.1.3(3))

54. temporal sequence conjunction combination: *saet* (5.3.1.2(3))
conjunction: *ya* 'and' (5.3.1.2(3))

55. temporal sequence conjunction combination: *saet* (5.3.1.2(3))
temporal sequence conjunction combination: *saet* (5.3.1.2(3))

58. temporal sequence conjunction combination: *saet* (5.3.1.2(3))

61. temporal sequence conjunction combination: *saet* (5.3.1.2(3))
conjunction: *ya* 'and' (5.3.1.2(3))

63. fronted time clause: 'when they have finished the *Apey* ritual in the rice fields' (5.3.1.2(3))

64. fronted time phrase: 'at night' (5.3.1.3(1))

68. fronted time phrase: 'on the morrow' (5.3.1.3(2))

69. fronted time phrase with anaphoric demonstrative indicating temporal overlap: 'on that day' (5.3.1.2(2))

70. fronted time phrase, activity related: 'on the second day of catching fish' (5.3.1.3(3))

71. fronted time phrase: 'on the next day' (5.3.1.3(2))
anaphoric auxiliary: *kasin* 'again' (5.3.1.3(2))

77. fronted time phrase: 'at night' (5.3.1.3(1))

78b. fronted time phrase: 'tomorrow' (5.3.1.3(2))

79. fronted time phrase: 'the next day' (5.3.1.3(2))

81. anaphoric auxiliary: *kasin* 'again' (5.3.1.3(2))
fronted time phrase: 'on the next day' (5.3.1.3(3))

84. temporal suffix: *-an* 'time of' (5.3.1.3(3))

87. postnuclear time phrase: 'for one year' (5.3.1.1)

88. fronted time phrase: 'for other years' (5.3.1.1)

89a. temporal suffix: *-an* 'time of' (5.3.1.3(3))

Fig. 91. The Innana time file (continued).

following list the initial number is that of the sentence in which the particular device occurs, and the number in parentheses refers to the section in which the device was discussed.)

A glance at this time file of the *Innana* text shows that the author has used many different time references to keep the time file open and clear. In the SETTING the time references begin in a nonprominent way giving first a historical perspective, then becoming very specific to the *Innana* ritual itself. Throughout the ritual, days and evenings and sequential time are in focus. Then in the CONCLUSION is a new time perspective altogether. By means of two 'time of' suffixes, the CONCLUSION relates the *Innana* rituals to the Bontoc way of life, which is referred to in the two references to years. Thus the time file relates closely with the theme of the whole text.

5.3.2 The people and pig files

The 'people' and 'pigs' are two nominal groups that could conceivably be encoded in much the same way, except for the fact that one is agentive while the other is objective. But, in fact, the encoding devices are quite different, and the files quite distinct. To compare these two files, we will look at the two files in one ritual, the *Lifon* ritual. First, we will look at the encoding devices for the people file and trace through the people file in the *Lifon* ritual. Then we will do the same for the pig file. Finally we will compare the two files and see how the author has kept them distinct. The aim is not to list all the devices a Bontoc author may use, but to show the selective use of encoding devices to keep two files distinct.

5.3.2.1 The people file: devices

The people file is traced in the *Lifon* ritual by the use of four kinds of entry devices (the percentage indicates their frequency relative to each other):

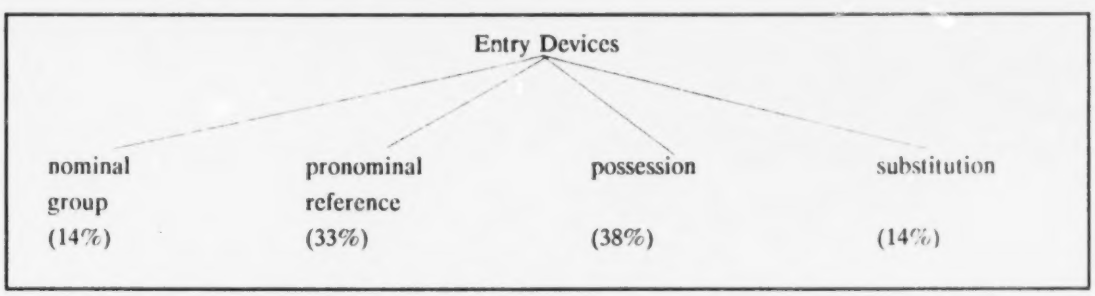

Fig. 92. Entry devices for the people file of Lifon ritual.

(1) Nominal groups.

Nominal group entries may be in either a focused or nonfocused position in a clause. An example of a *focused* nominal group is *nan sinpangapo paymo nan sinpangafong* 'the clan or household' in sentence 18:

18. Maam-among ***nan sinpangapo paymo nan sinpangafong*** *yangkhay.*
gather FM clan or FM household only

18. **The whole clan or** just **the household** gather.

In sentence 20 is an example of a *nonfocused* nominal group that helps to keep the people file open, *nan takhoo* 'the people':

20. Nan maala, fingiten ***nan takho.***
FM take share FM person

20. **The people** receive shares of meat.

(2) Pronominal reference.

Pronominal reference is usually nonfocused. It may occur in a focused position, but each occurrence of a focused pronominal reference in the *Lifon* ritual is immediately followed by nominal specification.

(This is not to be considered a general pattern, since it occurs only once more, at the beginning of the *Soyok* ritual.) An example of focused pronominal reference followed by nominal specification is in sentence 8, cha, nan papangoli 'they, the leaders':

*8. **Matotyacha nan papangolo** mo sino ken chaicha nan maala nan*
talk.they FM leader,PL if who NFM them FM take FM

fotogcha.
pig.their

8. **The elders** discuss whose pigs will be taken to be butchered.

Nonfocused pronominal reference, a device to keep the people file open, may be either objective or subjective. (For an explanation of the objective/subjective distinction see Appendix 5). An objective example is *chaicha* 'them' in sentence 8 above. Subjective nonfocused pronominal reference is more prevalent than other types of pronominal reference both in the *Lifon* ritual and throughout the *Innana* text. A subjective example is *cha* (of *enchat*) 'they' in sentence 10:

10. Mo nakahaeb nan totyacha, enchat alaen nan
if made FM discussion.their go.they,PART get FM

ilifoncha et khekhechencha isnan afob-ong nan chey ninkwa
for.Lifon.their CONJ divide.they NFM house,PL POSS those owner

isnan fotog ay milifon.
POSS pig LK for.Lifon

10. When they have reached a decision, **they** will go to get what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual, and they will cut it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual.

(3) Possession.

Possessives may make reference to a file. In the *Lifon* ritual the author does this in two ways: by pronominal possession and by nominal group possession. An example of pronominal possession is cha (in totyacha) 'their' in sentence 10 above. An example of nominal group possession is nan kakachangyan 'the rich people' in sentence 15:

*15. Nan nay Lifon, siya nan manganan **nan kakachangyan**.*
FM this Lifon it FM eating.time POSS rich.person,PL

15. This *Lifon* ritual is the time when **the rich** celebrate.

(4) Substitution.

Substitution occurs in the *Lifon* only where the people file goes off on a sidetrack (see sec. 5.3.2.2(2)).

5.3.2.2 Tracing the people file of the *Lifon* ritual

Using the same format as for the time file in section 5.3.1.4, we will trace the people file through the *Lifon* ritual sentence by sentence.

Several times during the *Lifon* ritual it is necessary to single out members of the people file for special reference. This is done both as a nominal group within a clause and as a possessive. Each time it occurs the member(s) to be singled out are specified with a nominal group.

(1) Possessive nominal group specification.

When the member(s) of the people file to be singled out as possessors are specified by an unmarked nominal group, they follow the pattern of nominal group possession in 5.3.2.1(3). An example is *nan pangolo* 'the leaders' in sentence 23:

*23. Nan falong-a paymo ipos, enkwan **pangolo** paymo nan inkhekhed.*
FM tail.plus or tail belong leader or POSS divider,PL

23. The tail plus its root, or the tail alone, belongs to **the leaders** or to the ones who do the butchering.

8.	focused pronominal reference plus nominal group: 'the elders'(5.3.2.1(2))
	nonfocused emphasized pronoun: 'them' (5.3.2.1(2))
	possessive pronoun: 'their' (5.3.2.1(3))
9.	possessive nominal group: 'the rich' (5.3.2.1(3))
10.	possessive pronoun: 'their' (5.3.2.1(3))
	nonfocused pronominal reference: 'they' (5.3.2.1(2))
	possessive, demonstrative pronoun plus substitution: 'of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual' (5.3.5.3(2))
14.	nonfocused pronominal reference: 'they' (5.3.2.1(2))
	possessive pronoun: 'their' (5.3.2.1(3))
15.	possessive nominal group: 'the rich' 5.3.2.1(3))
16.	focused contained nominal group: 'poor friends' (5.3.5.3(2))
17.	focused pronominal reference plus nominal group: 'the rich' (5.3.2.1(2))
18.	focused nominal group: 'the whole clan or just the household' (5.3.2.1(1))
19.	nonfocused pronominal reference: 'they' (5.3.2.1(2))
20.	nonfocused nominal group: 'the people' (5.3.2.1(1))
21.	possessive nominal group: 'the boys' (5.3.2.1(3) and 5.3.5.3(2))
22.	possessive nominal group: 'the old men' (5.3.2.1(3) and 5.3.5.3(2))
23.	possessive nominal group, including substitution: 'the leaders or to the ones who do the butchering' (5.3.2.1(3) and 5.3.5.3(2))
24.	possessive nominal group: 'for newly married men or for the young men' (5.3.2.1(3) and 5.3.5.3(2))
25.	nonfocused nominal group: 'the women' (5.3.2.1(1) and 5.3.5.3(2))
26.	nonfocused pronominal reference: 'they' (5.3.2.1(2))

Fig. 93. The Lifon ritual people file.

However, members may be specified as possessors using either a containing or noncontaining substitute. (These terms are taken from Ellen Prince—see Appendix 4.) Sentence 23 above illustrates a noncontaining substitute *nan inkhekhed* 'the butchers'. The last words of sentence 10 illustrate a containing possessive substitute. In this case, reference is aided first by a demonstrative *chey* 'that'; then there is the substitute *ninkwa* 'owners'; and finally the containing reference which defines exactly who the owners are, *isnan fotog ay milifon* 'of the pigs to be used for the *Lifon* ritual':

10. Mo nakhach nan totyacha, enchat alaen nan
if made FM discussion.their go.they,PART get FM

ilifoncha et khekhechencha isnan afob-ong nan ***chey ninkwa***
for.Lifon.their CONJ divide.they NFM house,PL POSS those owner

isnan fotog ay milifon.
POSS pig LK for.Lifon

10. When they have reached a decision, they will go to get what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual, and they will cut it up at the houses **of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual**.

(2) Nominal group specification.

Members of the people file may also be singled out as nominal groups in a nonpossessive role. This occurs in sentence 25 where the women are specified in a nonfocused position in an existential clause:

25. Maid infingit isnan fabfafai
none share NFM woman,PL

25. There is nothing shared among **the women.**

In our discussion so far we have ignored the fact that the people file is in fact only a select group of people: the rich people. In sentence 16 the author needs to make reference to another group of people, the poor people. He does this through a containing reference. In this sentence, instead of simply using a nominal group to specify the poor people, *nan poposi* 'the poor people', as has been done above in sentence 25 for members of the rich people set, the author has used a containing reference which links the poor to the rich, *nan ib-a ay poposi* 'the friends who are poor':

16. Nay met achi, mafalin ay makifingit ***nan ib-a*** *ay*
this PART PART possible LK share.with FM friend,PL LK

16. But **poor friends** can also be given a share.

poposi.
poor.person,PL

5.3.2.3 The pig file: devices

The pig file is tracked in the *Lifon* ritual by the use of four kinds of entry devices as follows (percentages indicate their frequency relative to each other):

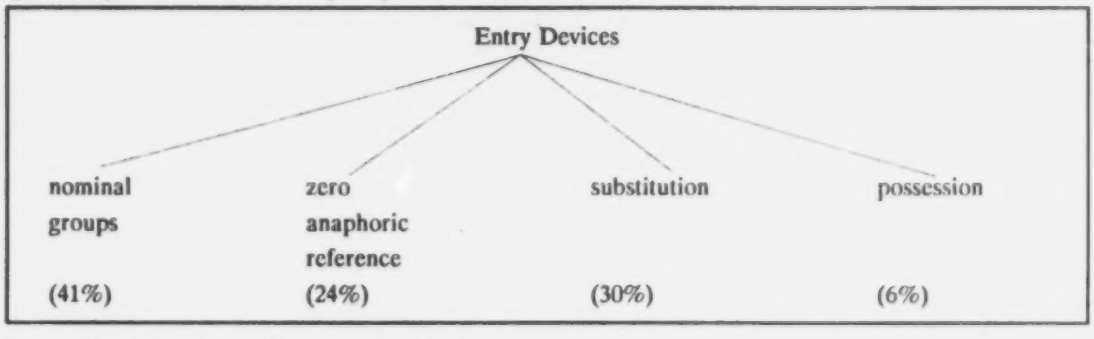

Fig. 94. Entry devices for the pig file in the Lifon ritual.

Since the majority of references to the pig file are in fact members of a set in part-whole relationship to the original pig, we will treat them all together in this section; at the end of section 5.3.2.4(2) we will comment on the filing of sidetracks.

1. Nominal groups.

Nominal group entries may occur as the focused item in a clause with a verbal predicate, or they may occur as fronted items in equational clauses. Those which occur in equational clauses may occur without an emphasized pronoun, with an emphasized pronoun, or with a zero anaphoric reference. Examples follow.

Sentence 13 has an example of a nominal group in a verbal clause:

13. Miskhep is afong ***nan choway lapa, choway opo, atey,***
put.inside NFM house FM two,LK foreleg two,LK hind.leg liver

fowang, olo, chala, ya nan kopkop.
stomach head blood and FM skin

13. **The two forelegs, the two hind legs, the liver, the stomach the head, the blood, and the skin** are all put inside the house.

Sentence 9 has an example, *fafoy* 'big pig', of a nominal group occurring in an equational clause without an emphasized pronoun:

*9. **Fafoy nan ilifon nan kakachangyan.***
big.pig FM kill.for.Lifon FM rich.person,PL

9. The rich provide a **big pig** for the *Lifon* ritual.

Sentence 21 has an example of a nominal group with emphasized pronoun occurring in an equational clause, *nan fala, siya* 'the lungs, it':

*21. **Nan fala, siya** nan enkwan nan ongang-a ay lalalaki.*
FM lungs it FM belong POSS child,PL LK male,PL

21. **The lungs** belong to the boys.

Sentence 22 has an example of a nominal group with zero anaphoric reference occurring in an equational clause, *nan sofod, zero*, 'the belly, (it)':

*22. **Nan sofod**, enkwan nan amam-a.*
FM belly belong POSS old.man,PL

22. **The stomach skin** is for the old men.

(2) Zero anaphoric reference.

We already saw, in sentence 22 above, one situation where zero anaphoric reference may occur. In sentence 10 is another example. (Reid 1971:31 remarks that in procedural discourse zero anaphoric reference is frequent.) In sentence 10, 'pig' is omitted after the verb khekhechencha 'they divide' since, in Reid's terms, "the deleted goal refers to the major goal of that part of the discourse":

10. Mo nakhaeb nan totyacha, enchat alaen nan
if made FM discussion.their go.they,PART get FM
*ilifoncha et **khekhechencha** isnan afob-ong nan chey ninkwa*
for.Lifon.their CONJ divide.they NFM house,PL POSS those owner
isnan fotog ay milifon.
POSS pig LK for.Lifon

10. When they have reached a decision, they will go to get what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual, and **they will cut it up** at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual.

(3) Substitution.

Substitution is a frequent device in the pig file, both in tracking the superordinate pig and the part-whole members which constitute filing sidetracks. Substitutes may be made prominent by being fronted, or they may be nonprominent. No substitutes occur in equational clauses, and all are in a focused position in the clause.

Fronted focused substitutes have the option of having a demonstrative pronoun for added specification, as in sentence 14:

*14. Nan nay chay **eg-ay nafingit** eyeycha isnan afong ay*
FM this those,LK not share take.they NFM house LK
maamongancha.
gathering.place.their

14. **Those parts not to be distributed** are taken to the house where they will gather.

Nonprominent focused substitutes are used both to refer to the pig and to members of the pig set. For example, in sentence 11, the substitute *nan maala* 'the to be taken' refers to pieces of meat:

*11. Mafingit **nan maala**.*
share FM take

11. The **sections of the meat to be distributed** are shared out.

The only occurrence of a possessive entry is in the containing reference at the end of sentence 10, where *isnan fotog ay nilifon* 'of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual' defines which owners are being referred to.

5.3.2.4 Tracing the pig file of the *Lifon* ritual

As we have done with the people file, we will now trace the pig file in the *Lifon* ritual, sentence by sentence, summarizing the devices the author has used to make reference to the file:

8. focused contained nominal group: 'their pig' (5.3.2.3(1))
9. topicalized nominal group: 'big pig' (5.3.2.3(1))
10. focused substitution: 'what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual' (5.3.2.3(3))

    zero (5.3.2.3(2))

    possessive nominal group plus relative clause: 'of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual' (5.3.2.3(4))
11. focused substitution: 'to be distributed' (5.3.2.3(3))
12. topicalized focused substitution: 'what is not to be distributed' (5.3.2.3(3))
13. focused nominal group: 'the two forelegs, the two hind legs, the liver, the stomach, the head, the blood, and the skin' (5.3.2.3(1))
14. topicalized focused substitution plus demonstrative: 'those parts not distributed' (5.3.2.3(3))
20. topicalized focused substitution: 'shares of meat' (5.3.2.3(3))
21. topicalized nominal group, plus emphasized pronoun: 'the lungs (that is what)' (5.3.2.3(1))
22. topicalized nominal group, zero: 'the stomach skin' 5.3.2.3(1))
23. topicalized nominal group, zero: 'the tail plus its root, or the tail alone' (5.3.2.3(1))
24. topicalized nominal group, zero: 'the ridge between the shoulder bones and the ribs' (5.3.2.3(1))

Fig. 95. The Lifon ritual pig file.

As to the filing of sidetracks, members of the pig set are introduced either as prominent nominal groups of equational clauses or as focused substitutes in clauses with active predicates. Sentence 22 illustrates the former, sentence 11 the latter:

*22. **Nan sofod, enkwan nan amam-a.***
FM belly belong POSS old.man,PL

22. **The stomach skin** is for the old men.

*11. Mafingit **nan maala.***
share FM take

11. **The sections of the meat to be distributed** are shared out.

5.3.3 A comparison of the files of the *Innana* text

Since the time file is quite different from the people and pig files, nothing more will be said about it at this stage other than to note that the time file is opened and tracked by time and sequence references. The other two files can perhaps best be compared by the use of a table (fig. 96).

Figure 96 shows that even though two files could potentially use identical or very similar entry devices, they are, in fact, clearly disambiguated:

(1) Both files use nominal groups to refer to their members, but most nominal group entries of the pig file are fronted, in sharp contrast to the people file. This difference is no doubt partly due to the agent-patient distinction—fronting is utilized to give special emphasis to a focused nominal patient.

	People File	Pig File
(1) Nominal Group Entries (of these none are fronted)	14%	41% (of these 71% are fronted)
(2) Zero Anaphora	0%	24%
(3) Pronominal Reference	33%	0%
(4) Possessive Entries	38% (some are pronominal, referring to full members of the file, and some are nominal – see comment 4 below)	6% (of these none are pronominal)
(5) Substitution	14% (all are embedded in possessive nominal groups)	30% . (all in focus in active clauses)

Fig. 96. A comparison of the people and pig files of the Lifon ritual.

(2) Only the pig file uses zero anaphora, a distinguishing feature. An agent in Central Bontoc normally exhibits zero anaphoric reference only in conjunction with an actor-focused predicate. Goal- focused verbs are characteristic of Bontoc procedural discourse (Reid 1971).

(3) In the *Lifon* ritual only the people file uses pronominal reference. The pattern is the same in the rest of the *Innana* text, for there are sixty-three pronominal references to the people file, but only one to the pig file in the whole text. Pronominal reference, then, is a distinguishing feature of the people file.

(4) Both files have possessive entries, though they are much more frequent in the people file. But the pig file has no pronominal possessives. All of the pronominal possessives in the people file refer to full members of the file. (This is not true for the whole *Innana* text, however.) It should be noted that each of the possessive nominal groups is in a containing relationship with another nominal group, defining that nominal group and thus making it definite (see sentence 15 in 5.3.2.1(3) and sentence 10 in 5.3.2.3(4)). Both files make identical use of this particular type of possessive nominal group.

(5) The pig file makes twice as much use of substitution as does the people file. Another difference between the files is that all of the substitutions in the people file are embedded within possessive nominal groups. Quite the opposite is true in the pig file, all of the substitutions occur in focused positions in clauses with active predicates.

Let us look now at a comparison of pairs that show how, even in the same structural position, the three files we have been considering encode in their own distinctive way. In sentences 15 and 21 we can compare the time and pig files. Both sentences have fronted entries followed by emphasized pronouns. The time file uses its characteristic *-an* 'time of' suffix. It also makes use of an anaphoric demonstrative, though that is not a distinctive feature of this file:

*15. **Nan nay Lifon, siya nan manganan** nan kakachangyan.*
FM this Lifon it FM eating.time POSS rich.person,PL

15. **This *Lifon* ritual is the time** when the rich celebrate.

*21. **Nan fala, siya** nan enkwan nan ongang-a ay lalalaki.*
FM lungs it FM belong POSS child,PL LK male,PL

21. ***The lungs*** belong to the boys.

Now if we compare sentences 32 (from the *Soyok* ritual) and 9, we see a similar construction in the people and pig files. The people file here uses an emphasized pronoun in combination with a demonstrative pronoun whereas the pig file uses a nominal group. (Since the *Lifon* ritual does not at any time refer to the people file in an equational clause, we have had to look to the *Soyok* ritual for this example.) Sentence 32 illustrates the use of pronominal reference in the people file, which contrasts with nominal group reference in the pig file.

*32. **Siya chana nan madpap nan fotogcha idwanin.***
this these FM catch FM pig.their now

32. **They** are the ones to contribute (lit., catch) their pigs this time.

*9. **Fafoy nan ilifon** nan kakachangyan.*
big.pig FM kill.for.Lifon FM rich.person,PL

9. The rich provide a **big pig** for the *Lifon* ritual.

5.3.4 Summary of files

In this section on files it has been made quite clear that the author of the *Innana* text has indeed set up a filing system for at least three sets of information. We have traced through the files of time, people, and pigs, and have seen that each has its own distinct formal coding devices, which, quite apart from the semantic content of the words and phrases involved, clearly disambiguate referents of the various filing systems.

These three files are like threads each of a different color: Each employs its own distinctive grammatical devices to achieve trackability. Files, thought of as threads running through a text linking items and sentences together, constitute a way to look at cohesion.

It is not my intention to discuss the role of the filing system from the point of view of files exerting pressure on and manipulating trees and backbone. Suffice it to say that through the application of the filing system a large amount of potential redundancy in the *Innana* text has been eliminated.

5.4 Focal content

5.4.1 The context of the *Innana* text

Focal content is closely related to whatever initially stimulates a discourse to be produced. For a discourse to be effective, the speaker must react to a given speech situation and, on his own initiative, do something in response to that situation. The focal content is that part of the monologue which answers most directly to the problem, question, or challenge that was the initial stimulus (Bieri, Schulze, and Hale 1973:408). To get a hold on the focal content of the *Innana* text, then, we need first to probe the context in which it was given.

The author, Felix Khensay, is an older Bontoc man who is very aware of his own language and of intrusions of words and expressions from the trade language, Ilocano, and English. Over a period of twenty years or so he has built up the reputation of being one of the best Bontoc-language song writers. Much of his awareness of his mother tongue has come as his songs have been discussed, criticized, and complimented.

Felix, our landlord and good friend, knew that I was collecting Bontoc texts for discourse analysis. In fact, he had read several of these texts and given editorial comments. One of them was "The *Innana* Rituals", written by Helen Fomerwey. (In Appendix 7 is an English translation of this text.)

In reviewing texts that were equal in quality (as judged by Bontoc speakers) to "The *Innana* Rituals", Felix had made very few corrections. Mainly he had supplied true Bontoc words and expressions for loan words. But when he read "The *Innana* Rituals", he said, "Oh, no. This is not good enough. I will give you an accurate account of the *Innana* rituals." He was not, at this point, reacting so much to the linguistic

quality of Helen Fomerwey's work as to the possibility that I would get a simplified impression of the *Innana* rituals and fail to grasp their tremendous significance.

It seems that in Felix's mind there were three problems:

Problem 1: The primary reader, that is, I, the collector of the texts (as well as any other foreigners who might possibly read them) might not understand the full significance of the *Innana* rituals for the Bontoc way of life.

Problem 2: The primary reader needed to have accurate details on this the most important Bontoc ritual.

Problem 3: Felix, if he were to write down the details of the *Innana* rituals, ran the risk that what he wrote might get printed where fellow Bontocs could read it. If that were to happen, he could be criticized by Bontoc people for setting himself up as an authority on the rituals, for he was not one of the old men. This would be especially true if he were in any way mistaken in what he wrote.

Felix, in responding to the challenge of these problems, was making six implicit claims:

Claim 1: I can explain the significance of the *Innana* rituals for the continuation of the Bontoc way of life.

Claim 2: I can give some very cogent reasons why, of all the Bontoc religious rituals, this is one of the best, and should not be laid aside.

Claim 3: I can give the details of the *Innana* rituals accurately, including not only the steps which constitute the ritual acts, but also the lesser details concerning the participants and props which accompany each ritual.

Claim 4: I can show the relative significance of various aspects of the *Innana* rituals.

Claim 5: I can also grade the six rituals for relative importance vis-à-vis each other.

Claim 6: Perhaps I can do all of the above and still avoid criticism, even if my words get printed where Bontocs will read them.

5.4.2 The evidence for focal content in the *Innana* text and its effect

Hale assumes (1973:27-33) that a hearer or reader is able to identify focal content material in a text, that he is able to distinguish it from backbone material, and that he monitors this focal content material as the text proceeds to help him evaluate the discourse for effectiveness. Of the six claims made by the author of the *Innana* text, perhaps claim 3 is the most easily identified by the reader. In the broad sweep, this claim is fulfilled by the EXPLANATION section of the text. Within the embedded procedural discourses, the sentences highest in the hierarchical structure basically give the actions necessary to perform the rituals, while the embedded explanatory material, generally speaking, explains the participants and props in commendable detail. So with little more comment than this, we can consider claim 3 to be fulfilled. At that level, Felix Khensay's monologue has been effective.

The other claims are more elusive. To ferret out fulfillment of the five other claims and discern the distorting effect of focal content on the files, trees, and backbone systems, we will now go through the *Innana* text section by section.

5.4.2.1 The setting and focal content

The author makes two of his six claims explicit in the SETTING. The very first sentence establishes claim 3:

1. Listen to the details of the *Innana* rituals.

Then having exhorted the hearer to listen to what he claims to be able to do, that is, tell the details of the *Innana*, he immediately tells why the hearer should listen:

2. The *Innana*, it is one of the best customs of long ago handed down to the people of Bontoc, Samoki, and the other villages.

Thus sentence 2 establishes claim 2, that of all the many Bontoc rituals this is the best. Now having made two claims, the author, in the remainder of the SETTING, quickly gives a preview of the rituals as a partial fulfillment of claim 3—and as a foretaste of the material he will cover in the rest of the discourse. Sentence 4 is in effect a table of contents for claim 3:

4a. At the time of the *Innana*, the *Lifon* ritual is done first;

4b. second, the *Soyok* ritual is done;

4c. third, the *Mangmang* ritual is done;

4d. fourth, the *Apey* ritual is done;

4e. and fifth, the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals are done.

Sentence 5 is also focal-content motivated. It clarifies and recaps sentence 4. It reinforces the author's purpose—these five rituals are what he is really wanting to focus on. Note that in sentence 5 he chooses to use the word 'detail' in order to make his purpose clear—he wants to explain the accurate details:

5. The five rituals that I have outlined are together called the *Innana* rituals.

5.4.2.2 The *Lifon* ritual and focal content

In the *Lifon* ritual the author begins the genuine fulfillment of claim 3: to furnish the accurate details of the *Innana* rituals. In this ritual he also begins the process of making good claims 2 and 4.

In relation to claim 2, in what way is the *Innana* complex one of the best customs? The author answers:

(1) There is plenty of meat—the rich people kill big pigs (sentence 9).

(2) Even though the *Lifon* is primarily for the rich, poor people can get a share of the meat (sentence 16).

(3) When they get together to eat, it is a whole clan or family gathering (sentence 18).

(4) Exclusive gatherings are despised (sentence 19).

(5) When pieces of meat are distributed, it is orderly (not like some rituals, notably the Bontoc funeral, where something approaching a brawl develops among the young men over pieces of meat): it is preordained as to who gets which piece of meat. Each man or boy does in fact receive his designated piece (sentences 20-24).

(None of the preceding evidences of focal content in fulfillment of claim 2 occur in sentences at the highest levels of the hierarchical structure.)

In relation to claim 4, which actions of the *Lifon* ritual are the most significant among those which take place? How does the reader know which of sentences 8, 10, 14, 17, 20, and 26 are the key steps in this ritual? The devices which the author uses to indicate the relative significance of an action were described in section 3.1 (spectrum). They are also discussed in section 5.1.2. To signify that an action is not so important, the author switches the voice of the verb from active to stative. This gives a clear two-way division—on the line and off the line—or as we have termed it, from preparatory steps to steps, since the downgraded sections are always preliminary. In the *Lifon* ritual there is one pre-step, sentence 8:

8. The elders discuss whose pigs will be taken to be butchered.

Sentence 10 has an active verb on the line as step 1 of the ritual procedure. But along with the active verb there are a series of dynamism-heightening and -lowering devices. These contribute directly to focal content in that they show which steps in a ritual are more, and which less, important. Sentence 10 illustrates two of the range of devices: (1) a pre-nuclear time clause which heightens the significance of

the following step in the ritual and (2) coordination of two independent clauses with active predicates. So this sentence consists of two actions coordinated together, compressing two possible procedural steps into one sentence, thus heightening dynamicity and making sentence 10 the most significant step of the ritual:

10. When they have reached a decision, they will go to get what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual, and they will cut it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual.

In sentence 14 we have still another situation. This sentence has no significance-heightening time clause, but it does have a fronted topic. However, since fronted topics are characteristic of explanatory rather than procedural discourse, it does not play a role in distinguishing between more or less significant actions in the ritual. The role of the fronted topic is to retain in focus the undistributed meat which first became thematic in sentence 12:

14. **Those parts not to be distributed** are taken to the house where they will gather.

Finally, in sentence 17 we have the last step of the *Lifon* ritual. This step is preceded by a time phrase which heightens dynamicity, making it more significant than sentence 14, but it is much less significant than the peak in sentence 10:

17. The night of that *Lifon* ritual, the rich eat.

What makes sentence 10, the killing of the pig, more significant than, for example, the feasting, in sentence 17? The answer to that comes first in sentence 15: the *Lifon* ritual is really only for the rich, so the feast does not include the whole village. That is part of the answer. The other part of the answer is in the preview paragraph in sentences 20-24. As explained in section 5.1.2, sentence 20 is a displaced independent sentence with an active predicate, and the nonweighted preview of a paragraph dealing with meat distribution. Sentences 20 to 24 tell us that one of the most important features of the *Lifon* ritual is the meat that is distributed, which is then available for use in later rituals: the *Mangmang* and the *Apey*. This is what makes the *Lifon* killing more important than the feasting, since it results in handouts of meat for participants to take home:

20. The people receive shares of meat.

21. The lungs belong to the boys.

22. The stomach skin is for the old men.

23. The tail plus its root, or the tail alone, belongs to the leaders or to the ones who do the butchering.

24. The ridge between the shoulder bones and the ribs are for newly married men or for the young men.

The last independent sentence of the *Lifon*, sentence 26, also has an active predicate. Along with that, its significance is heightened by a pre-nuclear time clause and a sequence particle. All these conspire to make this a most significant sentence. And so it is—not in the *Lifon* ritual, but at a higher level, as the transition from the *Lifon* to the *Soyok* rituals of the embedded *Innana* EXPLANATION:

26. When the *Lifon* ritual is finished, then they also begin the *Soyok* ritual.

In his description of the effects of focal content on the other systems, Hale mentions five ways in which focal content pressures may be seen: as displaced material, strategic omission, attention-reinforcing devices, foreshadowing, and flashback.

We have already seen that sentences 20-24 were displaced, to reinforce the importance of the meat distribution. (This distribution actually occurred at sentence 11, of which sentence 20 is a paraphrase.) Sentence 18 is also displaced, to suppress it from being a step by embedding it within an explanatory paragraph:

18. The whole clan or just the household gather.

In the *Lifon* ritual there is little strategic omission. This is in line with the author's need, in the *Lifon*, to establish the claim that he really can give the accurate details of the *Innana* rituals. He does, however, delete the details of the cooking and eating. These he will expand on in the *Soyok*, because in the *Soyok*, his focal content changes slightly.

Perhaps the best example of foreshadowing is in sentence 14. There the potential step, 'the people gather for the *Lifon* feast', which will later be displaced and thus suppressed, is foreshadowed in a relative clause embedded within a nominal group:

14. Those parts not to be distributed are taken to the house **where they will gather**.

5.4.2.3 The *Soyok* ritual and focal content

In the *Soyok* ritual, claim 3, to present the details of the *Innana* rituals, becomes slightly less important. This is signaled in the opening sentence:

28. The *Soyok* ritual is similar to the *Lifon* ritual.

The author, in other words, is saying, "I've already given you full details in the *Lifon* ritual, so now I will relax somewhat on claim 3, and begin to expand a little more on claim 2, that the *Innana* is one of the best rituals, and begin to substantiate claim 1, that I can tell you the significance of the rituals to Bontoc people."

Claim 2: The *Innana* is one of the best rituals.

(1) It involves all the people (sentence 29)—in contrast to the *Lifon* ritual, which is only for the rich people, and also to many other rituals which are only for men or a select family group.

(2) It is a time for the whole family or clan to gather (sentence 31).

(3) When clan members contribute, they do so equitably (sentence 31).

(4) If a member's pig is bigger than a fair share, he is given compensation in the form of money or a small pig, which he can then raise to replace the one which was killed (sentence 33).

(5) The whole clan gather to eat together (sentence 36).

(6) The best parts of the pig are eaten (sentence 37).

(7) It is an opportunity for the men to sing and enjoy themselves (sentence 38).

(8) Every family gathered takes home portions of uncooked and cooked meat, again, equitably shared (sentences 41-43).

The preceding focal content material is all drawn from pre-steps and sentences embedded within higher level structures except point 5 which is embedded within a nominal group in a step of the procedure.

Claim 1: I can explain the significance of the *Innana* rituals for the Bontoc way of Life.

The focal content material for claims 2 and 1 overlap somewhat at this point. Of the preceding eight points, which are the fulfillment of claim 2 in the *Soyok* ritual, points 1, 2, and 5 also support claim 1. They allude to the significance of the *Innana* rituals in Bontoc society. Together they say, "The *Innana* is a most important ritual complex because this is the time of the year when all the people gather, family by family and clan by clan. This is the time when clans can achieve a sense of belonging, and of oneness through their common parentage."

Claim 4: I can show the relative significance of the actions of the *Innana* rituals. Which ones, then, are the most significant in the *Soyok*? Which, of sentences 28, 31, 34, 35, 36, and 44 are the key steps in this ritual (see also sec. 5.1.3)?

In answer to this, first we observe that sentences 28 and 44 immediately are seen not to be part of the *Soyok* procedural event line since they are equational. Furthermore, in line with our discussion in section 5.4.2.2 concerning the *Lifon* ritual, sentences 31 and 34 are downgraded by focal content pressure to pre-step status by virtue of stative predicates rather than active.

Pre-step 1:

31. The clan or household discuss who among them did not make their contribution last year.

Pre-step 2:

34. These pigs are butchered at the houses of their owners.

Sentences 35 and 36 each have active predicates. Sentence 35 is introduced by a sequence particle combination *saet* 'then', and sentence 36 by a time phrase. They are equally dynamic, and together form the peak of the ritual. The significance of sentence 36 receives considerable rhetorical underlining by an extensive paraphrase of the events surrounding the independent sentence:

36. That night of the *Soyok* ritual, the clan or household who are gathered eat together.

The clearest examples of displaced material in the *Soyok* ritual are in sentences 29 and 37-40. In sentence 29 we are told long before they actually get the pigs that they get pigs for this ritual. This is done not so much to foreshadow an action but to construct a frame or script for the *Soyok* on the basis of the *Lifon*. Having done that, to a large extent the author deals with different issues in the *Soyok* ritual from those in the *Lifon*:

29. They butcher pigs, but the *Soyok* ritual is for all the people.

In sentences 37-40 there are three displaced actions illustrating what goes on when the clan meet to eat, which we were told about in sentence 36. Sentence 37 has a stative predicate, sentence 38 a reduplicated active predicate preceded by a time phrase, sentence 39 an active predicate preceded by a time clause, and sentence 40 a stative predicate. These four sentences constitute a "mini procedural discourse", which, in turn, is embedded in the procedural step of sentence 36:

37. What is cooked is the intestines, the blood, the liver, and some parts of the skin and the flesh.

38. While the meat is cooking, the old men sing the *ayyeng* song.

39. When they eat, they stop singing the *ayyeng* song.

40. Only meat to be eaten is distributed.

Although in the *Soyok* ritual there seems to be little strategic omission, there are many potential steps in the ritual which are embedded either within independent sentences or within paragraphs. Altogether there are ten buried steps that are potentially active compared with four such in the *Lifon*. This is due to a shift in focal content away from action towards description. In the *Soyok* ritual the author is more interested in describing the significance of the *Innana* ritual complex to Bontoc society than in simply listing the steps.

5.4.2.4 The *Mangmang* ritual and focal content

The message that comes through loud and clear in the *Mangmang* ritual is: "This ritual is not so important!" The author achieves this effect in two ways: by massive strategic omission and by downgrading the whole ritual from an embedded procedure to an embedded expository discourse.

(1) Strategic omission.

The author's description of the *Mangmang* hardly tells us a thing. We are not told who gathers to eat. We are not told that they cook the meat or when they eat. In fact, so many steps and so much background explanation is omitted that a non-Bontoc would be left in almost complete ignorance of the components and function of this ritual. (It should be pointed out that the *Mangmang* is a fairly regular ritual done from time to time throughout the year, so anyone who knows anything knows what goes on at a *Mangmang*.) The result of this massive strategic omission is that we are given only backbone sentences devoid of backgrounded explanatory material that would otherwise give prominence to the foregrounded backbone.

(2) Downgrading.

The *Mangmang* ritual is suppressed by the complete removal of time margins and sequence markers, by the topicalization of sentences 47 and 48 (a feature which is characteristic of explanatory rather than of procedural text), and by the structuring of the three sentences into a conjoining rather than a sequential relationship:

46. Each household kills a chicken.

47. Those who butchered their pigs for the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, cook the head of their *Lifon* pig or *Soyok* pig together with the chicken.

48. The others add their (uncooked) share or their distributed share from the *Soyok* ritual.

Nevertheless, there is focal content in the *Mangmang* ritual.

Claim 1: The author, by brevity, is saying that, compared to the other *Innana* rituals, this one is not very significant to the continuance of the Bontoc lifestyle.

Claim 2: He is saying that one reason that this ritual is good is that you don't have to kill a pig—all you need is a chicken.

Claim 3: He is saying these details are accurate even if very brief.

Claim 4: He is saying that both aspects of the ritual are equally important—neither is subordinate.

Claim 5: He is saying that, with respect to the other *Innana* rituals, this one is not so important.

5.4.2.5 The *Apey* ritual and focal content

What is immediately striking about the *Apey* ritual is that, in contrast to the *Lifon* and *Soyok* rituals, each of which has six high-ranking independent sentences, the *Apey* ritual has thirteen. Also in contrast to the *Lifon* and *Soyok*, which have among their independent sentences only seven active predicates between them, the *Apey* ritual has twelve.

In the *Soyok* ritual claim 1 concerning the significance of the *Innana* rituals to Bontoc society was merely hinted at, but in the *Apey* ritual substantiation of this claim is uppermost.

Claim 1: I can explain the significance of the *Innana* rituals for the continuation of the Bontoc way of life. In what way, then, is the *Apey* ritual important to the Bontoc way of life?

(1) The *Apey* ritual is done to assure that the forthcoming rice will grow tall and straight, and be free of rats, lizards, rice birds and anything else that would destroy the rice fields or the rice plants (sentence 54).

(2) This prayer is necessary for each rice field (sentence 57).

(3) Different kinds of rice fields need different kinds of sacrifice to be assured of a rice crop (sentence 60).

(4) The *Apey* ritual strengthens the bond of friendship for the rest of the year with in-laws with whom you may have had very little or no social contact (sentences 69 and 79).

Each of the foregoing items of the focal content of claim 1 is taken from high-level independent sentences of the *Apey*. Each also contributes to the focal content of claim 2.

Claim 2: I can give good reasons why, of all the Bontoc religious rituals, the *Innana* is one of the best and should not be laid aside. In what sense, then, does the *Apey* contribute to make the *Innana* the best?

(1) The *Apey* ritual contributes directly to growing rice, our main source of food, so our survival depends upon it (sentences 54 and 57).

(2) The *Apey* ritual is good because it is another opportunity for the clan to get together (sentences 64 and 67).

(3) The *Apey* ritual is good since relationships with in-laws are reestablished and strengthened (sentences 69 and 70).

The points substantiating claim 2 in the *Lifon* and *Soyok* rituals come exclusively from sentences that are not steps. Likewise, in the *Apey* ritual this is the case for claim 2 material that is not also claim 1 focal content. But focal content material substantiating claim 2 and claim 1 as well is all from independent sentences that have active predicates, that is, from steps in the ritual's procedure.

Claim 3: I can give the details of the *Innana* rituals accurately. In the *Apey* ritual the details of the *Innana* rituals are on the backbone of the embedded procedure—in this ritual more than any other, in fact.

Claim 4: I can show the relative significance of various aspects of the *Innana* rituals. What *is* the relative significance of the independent sentences of this the *Apey* ritual? (The thirteen sentences that form the *Apey* backbone sentences are 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 63, 68, 69, 70, and 71—see sec. 5.1.5.) By applying criteria presented in section 3.1 (spectrum) and the dynamism-heightening devices of figure 29, we can evaluate the independent sentences that form the backbone sentences of the *Apey* ritual in terms of their relative significance.

Sentences 51 and 52, although independent and active, are suppressed by focal content into an action setting. This has been achieved by stripping them of temporal settings and conjoining them into a conjoining paragraph. This analysis is reinforced by the semantic content of these sentences—they are marked off as preliminary:

51. They get their (uncooked) share that they have salted or their distributed share from the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, to do the *Apey* ritual.

52. They also get rice wine or sugarcane wine to spit out as part of the *Apey* ritual.

Sentences 53, 54, and 55 form the most dynamic grouping in the *Apey* ritual. They constitute steps 1, 2, and 3 of the procedure of the ritual. Sentences 54 and 55 show the highest dynamic value of the ritual, and sentence 54 has additional rhetorical underlining by having an embedded attributive paragraph. The dynamism of sentence 55 is increased by coordinated active predicates:

53. When they go to their rice fields to do the *Apey* ritual, they kindle fire to cook the meat for the *Apey* ritual.

54a. Then they get a *paloki* plant and spit rice wine onto it, saying,

54b. "I spit on you, *paloki*, so that the rice plants will grow tall, so that they will be free from rats, lizards, rice birds, and all that destroy the fields and the rice plants."

55. Then they **insert** the *paloki* between the stones of the rock wall or **wedge** it into a split stick and **embed** it in the rice field.

Sentences 56, 57, and 60 are all somewhat suppressed, sentence 56 by modality, 57 by a repeated action verb, and 60 by a subjunctive clause:

56. They **just** heat the salted meat which they use for the *Apey* ritual.

57. They **transfer** it to each of their fields, doing the same thing.

60. **If the rice field for which they are doing the *Apey* ritual has its own spring**, they use a chicken for the ritual.

Sentence 63 is a minor peak of the *Apey* ritual, with its dynamism heightened by a prenuclear time clause:

63. **When they have finished the *Apey* ritual in the rice fields**, they bring home the meat used in the ritual to the house where they will eat.

Each of the following three active predicate independent sentences of the *Apey* are introduced by time phrases. These three steps finish the *Apey* procedure:

68. **On the morrow** they go to catch fish.

69. **On that day** they take a plate of food to the parents of their children-in-law and to their parents-in-law who live in Bontoc and Samoki.

70. **On the second day of catching fish**, they take a plate of food to their relatives or parents-in-law in the villages.

Sentence 71 is equational and serves both as the closure of the *Apey* ritual and as a transition for the higher-level explanation procedure:

71. On the next day again are the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals.

The *Apey* ritual is somewhat lacking in such features as were mentioned earlier as characteristic of the pressure of focal content on the lower-level systems, namely, displaced material, strategic omission, attention-getting devices, foreshadowing, and flashback. That is, the *Apey* is lacking compared to the *Lifon* and *Soyok* rituals. In this regard the *Apey* ritual seems more straightforward.

The best example of flashback in the *Apey* is the preview paraphrase paragraph in sentences 65-67:

65. There are three gatherings for the *Innana* rituals.

66. The gathering for the *Lifon* ritual is for the rich.

67. The gathering for the *Soyok* ritual and the *Apey* ritual (are the other two).

In sentence 63 is an example of foreshadowing almost exactly like that quoted in our discussion of the *Lifon* ritual (sentence 14). The difference is that the foreshadowed step, to eat, never does become explicit, and is thus shown to be not one of the key backbone events:

63. When they have finished the *Apey* ritual in the rice fields, they bring home the meat used in the ritual to the house **where they will eat**.

This potential step, to eat, which should come after they have come together, is one example of strategic omission in the *Apey* ritual. It is significant to note that the action of eating, which was on the event line in the procedure of the *Lifon* ritual as a minor peak, and which became the peak of the *Soyok* ritual, is reduced to an implication in the *Apey* ritual. In the *Apey* ritual, although the feasting is important, there are other parts of the ritual which far outweigh it. These other events are the ones which are highlighted.

5.4.2.6 The *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals and focal content

The *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals together have four independent sentences. The first, sentence 73, which introduces the *Patay* ritual, has a stative predicate. The next two, sentences 77 and 79, each have active predicates, and the last has another stative predicate:

73. The old men first perform the *Patay* ritual.

77. At night the children announce the *Tengaw* ritual.

79. The next day, the people observe the *Tengaw* ritual rest day.

81. On the next day, if there have been no untoward happenings, the people go to the fields.

In the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals there is no very obvious focal content for the first claim, to be able to show that the *Innana* was significant in the perpetuation of the culture, unless, of course you are an insider and know the Bontoc belief that the *Tengaw* makes the rice grow. There is no evidence in the text that it is addressed primarily to insiders, so we are obliged to be consistent and not read into the text what is not apparent there.

Claim 2: The *Innana* is one of the best, there is only a little focal content. In sentences 75 and 76 we have the village people expressing unity, by contributing freely for the pig which is killed for the *Patay* ritual. This unity is a value expressed again in the *Tengaw* ritual (sentences 79-80) when everyone observes the rest day.

As was the case in the *Mangmang* section, claim 3, to give the details, is not in view in the *Patay* and *Tengaw* section. Only the bare minimum of steps are given, with little explanatory embellishment. The same is the case even in the *Tengaw* section. (The author does shows, however, that the *Tengaw* is more important than the *Patay*.) The *Tengaw* is done regularly throughout the year, so it does not really need explanation to an interested observer.

Claim 4: To be able to give the relative significance of the steps of the rituals, is fulfilled by subordination and predicate ranking. Of the two potential procedural steps alluded to in sentences 73-76, one is singled out hierarchically. This sentence, sentence 73, is encoded with a stative predicate to relegate it to the status of a preparatory step of the *Tengaw*, while the two *Tengaw* independent sentences have active predicates and are ranked equally as steps 1 and 2 with neither being subordinated to the other.

Claim 5: To be able to rate the significance of the rituals with respect to each other, is thus also fulfilled, in that the *Patay* ritual is relegated to a single pre-step of the *Tengaw* section of the EXPLANATION.

Of all the procedural rituals, the *Patay* and *Tengaw* are the least marked. As was mentioned in section 5.2.6, only one sentence has a subordinated proposition (apart from the embedded attributive paragraph). There is neither displaced material nor flashbacks. But one significant feature of this section is the use of paraphrase. The first pre-step item is paraphrased, and both steps are paraphrases. This can be understood to be a post-peak tension-relaxing device to allow for a lull before the didactic peak in the CONCLUSION.

5.4.2.7 The CONCLUSION and focal content

In the CONCLUSION, claims 1 and 2 are in focus.

Claim 1: The significance of the *Innana* for the Bontoc way of life.

(1) The *Innana* rituals promote one of the most important cultural values, unity, by gathering the whole clan together (sentences 83-84).

(2) The gathering of the clan allows the young people to observe the importance of the *Innana* ritual for growing rice and also the importance of the family group. This will motivate them to work hard to raise pigs so that they will be able to make a contribution

when their turn comes. If they fail to contribute, they will be excommunicated from the family (sentences 83, 85-89).

Claim 2: The *Innana* is one of the best of rituals.

(1) The *Innana* rituals are good because they give opportunity for the whole clan to get together. This may be the only time that children can get to know their grandparents or aunts or uncles. This getting together promotes unity (sentences 83-84).

(2) The *Innana* rituals encourage young people to work (sentence 85).

The CONCLUSION section of the *Innana* text exemplifies the way in which focal content can displace material to get an effect. Sentence 89 is an excellent case:

89a. His difficulty at the time of contributing is this, they cut him off from participating because they say,

89b. "Is it just vegetables that we are eating that you just join in eating, even if you have made no contribution!"

If the actions of sentence 89 were ever to happen, they would probably happen at about sentence 11 of the *Lifon* ritual or sentence 36 of the *Soyok*. But they are never mentioned there. This possibility is saved up to be used at the strategic climax, to produce a warning.

5.4.3 Formal indications of the relative importance of the *Innana* rituals

The author's claim 5 is that he can rate the six rituals for relative importance vis-à-vis each other. The importance each of the rituals has already been shown in some way or other in the previous discussions of them. Clearly, the least important of the rituals is the *Patay* ritual, which is not even accorded its own title, but is subsumed under the title of *Tengaw*. Next to the *Patay* is the *Mangmang*, which, although given a title, is cast as an explanatory rather than a procedural embedded discourse. The *Tengaw* is somewhat more important than the *Mangmang*. Then we are left with the three rituals which take up most of the focus of attention in the embedded *Innana* EXPLANATION procedural discourse. But the author leaves us in no doubt as to which ritual is the most important of all: It is the *Apey*, followed by the *Lifon*, and then the *Soyok*.

How does the author indicate formally that this is the order of importance of the *Innana* rituals? This is perhaps best illustrated in tabular form (see fig. 97).

	Patay	*Mangmang*	*Tengaw*	*Soyok*	*Lifon*	*Apey*
(1) Title	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
(2) Procedural	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
(3) Total sentences in ritual	4	4	5	17	19	21
(4) High-level independent sentences	1	3	3	7	6	13
(5) Procedural steps	0	0	2	2	3	10
(6) Transitivity of steps at the peak	-	-	12, 10	17, 12	18, 17	17, 18, 17, 18, 18
(7) Spectrum values at peak	-	-	9, 9	9, 9	12	11, 12, 12
(8) Number of sentences at peak	-	-	4	9	4	3

Fig. 97. Formal indications of peak in the Innana text.

The eight features in figure 97 warrant further comment:

(1) The absence of a title and subsequent embedding of the *Patay* ritual as a pre-step of the *Tengaw* ritual indicate its low status.

(2) Although the *Patay* ritual includes two activities, they are not sequentially (procedurally) oriented. Neither are those of the *Mangmang* ritual.

(3) Based purely on the principle that more space indicates greater importance, the author's formal scale coincides with intuitive reaction, although the *Lifon* and *Soyok* rituals are each important in a different way. The major division indicated by the "number-of-sentences criterion" is between the three less important and the three more important rituals.

(4) The number of high-level independent sentences needs to be related to the total number of sentences in the ritual. From this perspective the *Mangmang* section has the highest ratio of high-level sentences and the *Patay* the lowest. The significant difference here is between the *Apey* (1:1.16) on the one hand and the *Soyok* (1:2.43) and *Lifon* (1:3.17) rituals on the other. This ratio indicates that both the *Soyok* and *Lifon* have much more embedded explanatory materials, which in effect is less memorable and less available for recall (Meyer 1975). By contrast, in approximately the same number of sentences in the *Apey*, the author says, "Remember this", by putting many more sentences high in the hierarchy. In the *Apey* there are thirteen memorable sentences as opposed to seven in the *Soyok* and six in the *Lifon* rituals.

(5) The author chose to encode ten actions as procedural steps in the *Apey* section compared with only three in the *Lifon* and two in the *Soyok*. From this point of view, the *Soyok* is not even distinguished from the *Tengaw*, though of course it is in many other ways.

(6) Transitivity must be related to the type of discourse, and since both the *Patay* and *Mangmang* rituals are encoded in explanatory mode, their transitivity level cannot be compared with the other rituals, which are procedural. However, the transitivity of procedural steps is a legitimate comparison, since transitivity levels are intended to correlate closely with intuitive feelings about the dynamicity of a clause. These values in figure 86 correspond closely with the intuitive feeling of dénouement in the *Tengaw* ritual and of the importance of activity in the *Lifon* and *Apey* peaks.

(7) As we saw in section 3.3 on profiles, there are two peaks among the rituals, a minor peak in the *Lifon* and a major peak in the *Apey*. These group the *Soyok* with the *Tengaw* ritual while equating the *Lifon* with the *Apey* ritual.

(8) The eighth criterion, the number of sentences included hierarchically within the span of the peak, needs to be taken in conjunction with both the transitivity and the spectrum values to understand in full its impact. It is not the fact that the *Apey* has one less sentence than either the *Lifon* or *Tengaw* rituals that gives the *Apey* peak a greater impact than the other two. Rather, it is that the *Apey* includes five high-transitivity clauses in three sentences of high dynamicity, compared with two high-transitivity clauses in a single highly dynamic sentence in the *Lifon* and no highly transitive clauses in two sentences of low dynamicity in the *Tengaw*. This eighth criterion also shows up one of the differences between the *Lifon* and the *Soyok*, which, on the basis of categories 1-5 are not markedly distinct. Using this eighth criterion, we see that the *Soyok* ritual is far more explanatory than the *Lifon*. The *Soyok* ritual embeds far more explanatory material both in its peak and elsewhere than does the *Lifon*. On a comparison basis, the *Soyok* embeds ten activities which, apart from hierarchical and other considerations, could legitimately be considered steps in a ritual procedure, whereas the *Lifon* embeds only four.

Thus claim 5 is well substantiated. The author has, through a combination of eight syntactic features, indicated beyond question that the *Apey* ritual is the cornerstone of the *Innana* rituals. However, he goes further than that and indicates quite clearly that the rituals fall into a hierarchy of importance with the *Lifon* second, the *Soyok* third, the *Tengaw* fourth, the *Mangmang* fifth, and the *Patay* last.

5.4.4 Effectiveness, a summary

Finally then, we ask ourselves the question, was the *Innana* text effective? Did the author achieve his goal? Did he produce a text that was not only coherent but also relevant and convincing?

In the introduction to this section on effectiveness we discussed the fact that coherence on the sentence level was not enough—even people who are mentally disturbed seem to be able to do that. To have global cohesion, a monologue must have a backbone that unites the text thematically. Only then will a text rise above the ramble of a thought-disoriented person to become coherent.

However, coherence is not really sufficient, per se, to produce natural, relevant language. So in the latter part of this section we reexamined the *Innana* text to see if the discourse achieves effectiveness when considered in the real-life context of its production. The text was stimulated by a combination of problems in the mind of the author who, in attempting to meet the challenge inherent in the problems, made six implicit claims. He claimed to be able to show not only the true facts about the *Innana* rituals, but also the relative importance of each part of each ritual, which ritual was more, and which less, important, and why the *Innana* rituals were highly significant for the continuation of the Bontoc way of life, and were, in fact, the best of all the many Bontoc rituals. He reinforced these claims from time to time throughout the text, as shown in figure 98 (in which numbers indicate the frequency of focal content insertions in each section).

Claim number	SETTING	*Lifon*	*Soyok*	*Mangmang*	*Apey*	*Patay*	*Tengaw*	CONCLUSION
1			3		4			3
2	1	5	8	1	3	1	1	3
3	2	6	6	3	13	2	2	
4		3	2		10		2	
5		5	4	2	6	1	3	
6								

Fig. 98. Focal content claims resolution in the Innana text.

At this point in the analysis of the *Innana* text, it would seem that the author, Felix Khensay, failed to resolve claim 6—that he could write an accurate account of the *Innana* rituals and at the same time avoid criticism for purporting to be an expert. However, at the very bottom of his last page, in his own characteristic handwriting, are these words: "by Helen Fomerwey." By these three words in his closing line he does fulfill his final claim. In so doing, he expresses the humility and generosity of a man who, though having the ability to write such wonderfully coherent and integrated text, is willing to give the credit to the girl whose initiative it first was to write an essay on the *Innana* rituals.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

A well-written text is like a beautiful mansion with many rooms richly and tastefully furnished. Peeping in through one window, we are amazed at the beauty within; but if we stop there and never move on to other windows, we gain only one perspective on the artistry and workmanship which were expended to achieve it. To look at a text from one theoretical perspective will give many insights into the structure and coherence of a discourse; but if we look again and again from several different vantage points, other aspects of the texture of the language are revealed. This is what we have attempted to do in our study of the *Innana* text.

6.1 Discourse, segmentation, and paragraphs

In chapter 2, we examined the propositional relations existing between sentences and mapped out the paragraph structure of the whole text. Then we made an attempt to identify the roles of the various paragraph types. This paragraph analysis was helpful in understanding the *Innana* text. The same sort of analysis needs to be applied to a variety of texts by a number of authors.

6.2 Spectrum, transitivity, and profile

Chapter 3 represented the first steps in what needs to be an across-the-board analysis of tense/aspect in its discourse context. We showed clearly that, in conjunction with hierarchical considerations, the author of the *Innana* text made careful use of tense/aspect, especially in the independent clauses of sentences, to achieve heightened and lowered tension in each of the procedural rituals.

Chapter 3 gave suggestions only for expository discourse, and those very tentative. It would be good to extend the application of this theory to other discourse genres, and so come up with a more rational understanding of the use and control Central Bontoc speakers have over verbs and clauses.

6.3 Cohesion from sentence to sentence

After studying the *Innana* text in chapter 3 from the perspective of spectrum and profile, and having seen that through a combination of tense/aspect, preposed sentence introducers, and paragraph structure that the author of the *Innana* text had clearly indicated which parts of the text were more important, it was fascinating to note in chapter 4 that these insights were reinforced from the lexical perspective by a study of intersentential cohesion. In chapter 4 we recognized the many ways in which the author gave cohesion from sentence to sentence throughout the text. Then, in the light of the text profile, the significance of the author's selective use of cohesive devices became apparent. This systematic use of cohesive devices was most obvious with substitution, ellipsis, and lexical cohesion. We expect that further work on sequential cohesion will reinforce this discovery that the use of intersentential cohesive devices is systematic and closely tied to the text profile.

6.4 Effectiveness

Since time began, people have been vitally concerned that what they say achieve its desired effect. It is not surprising that there should be surface-structure elements closely related to this aim of achieving one's goals in a discourse. Thus in chapter 5 we looked at four systems that contribute towards making a text effective: backbone, the tree system, the filing system, and focal content.

To be effective a text must have a backbone that produces thematic coherence and situational relevance. The tree system manipulates the sentences of a text to produce a hierarchical structure in which some sentences are subordinated to others. The result of this was seen in our paragraph analysis of chapter 2. The filing system keeps track of information and participants throughout a text. We looked at this briefly in chapter 5 when we traced three of the files of the *Innana* text and noted their unique index systems.

Focal content is a system requiring further study. In section 5.4 we saw that the author indeed gave ample evidence for his implicit focal content claims. But this study needs to be broadened before a system of focal content references will emerge for Bontoc discourse.

6.5 Theoretical implications

The basic contributions of this study are fourfold:

(1) Chapter 2 reinforces the findings of Longacre, Borman, and Waltz that paragraphs are used selectively and systematically. Nothing in our analysis contradicts this basic premise.

(2) Chapter 3 illustrates that in a single well-written Bontoc text the author has used an intricate weave of clause type, modality, discourse particles, hierarchical embedding, and tense/aspect to control tension within the discourse as a whole and, more particularly, within each section of the text. As a result of our study we can begin to outline discourse spectra for Bontoc procedural and expository discourse. We saw that the Hopper and Thompson transitivity criteria, though helpful, need further adaptation to accommodate to Philippine languages.

(3) At first glance, chapter 4 seems simply to elucidate the options a Central Bontoc speaker has to effect intersentential cohesion in a text. But when taken in conjunction with the findings of chapter 3, they provide startling confirmation of Halliday and Hasan's thesis that intersentential cohesion is systematic. The evidence for this is presented in both chapters 4 and 5.

(4) Chapter 5 illustrates Hale's four systems which contribute towards making a discourse effective. It presents evidence that an author syntactically distinguishes different strands of information running through a text—this is what Hale calls the filing system. Finally, this chapter gives salient evidence for the relationship between a text and its real-world context.

6.6 Recommendation

In sum, it is our recommendation that studies of this type be pursued further not only in Central Bontoc, but also in other Philippine languages, so that we will gain a better understanding of the discourse structure of Philippine languages. This would greatly facilitate language comparison. Once such a comprehensive study has been done, the differences between the discourse structures of Philippine languages could more easily be reduced to tabular form for easy reference and comparison. This is turn would facilitate good idiomatic translation from one Philippine language to another.

Appendix 1
The *Innana* text

Nan On-on nan Innana
The Details of.the Innana

The details of the *Innana*

1. Chengngenyo nan kaon-onan nan Innana.
hear.you FM details POSS Innana

1. Listen to the details of the *Innana* rituals.

2. Nan Innana, esa ay kakhawisan ay ekhad id sangad-om ay
FM Innana one LK very.good LK custom at long.ago LK

mawanwaned idwanin isnan ili ay Fontok, Samoki ya nan tap-in
inherit now NFM village LK Bontoc Samoki and FM rest

nan kafakhaang.
POSS village

2. The *Innana*, it is one of the best customs of long ago handed down to the people of Bontoc, Samoki, and the other villages.

3. Maangnen nan nay Innana isnan tinawen ay kalpasan nan kifos
is.done FM this Innana NFM each.year LK finish.time FM end

si sama ya toned isnan chinakhon.
POSS field.work and plant NFM each.dry.season

3. This *Innana* ritual is done every year just after the end of the working of the fields and the planting in the dry season.

4a. Isnan timpon nan Innana, maangnen omona nan Lifon;
NFM time.of POSS Innana is.done first FM Lifon

4a. At the time of the *Innana*, the *Lifon* ritual is done first;

4b. mikadwa, maangnen nan Soyok;
second is.done FM Soyok

4b. second, the *Soyok* ritual is done;

4c. maikatlo, maangnen nan Mangmang;
third is.done FM Mangmang

4c. third, the *Mangmang* ritual is done;

4d. mikap-at maangnen nan Apey;
fourth is.done FM Apey

4d. fourth, the *Apey* ritual is done;

4e. mikalima, maangnen nan Patay ya nan Tengaw.
fifth is.done FM Patay and FM Tengaw

4e. and fifth, the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals are done.

5. Nan kadchakhopan nan lima ay inon-onko siya nan makwanin
FM all.together POSS five LK detail.I this FM call,QF

Innana.
Innana

5. The five rituals that I have outlined are together called the *Innana* rituals.

6. Idwanin, ibfakhak nan kasasaad nan nay chay nginadnak milokhi
now tell.I FM status FM this those,LK name.I begin

isnan Lifon.
NFM Lifon

6. Now I will tell the meaning of those that I have mentioned, beginning with the *Lifon* ritual.

7. Lifon. 8. Matotyacha nan papangolo mo sino ken chaicha nan
Lifon talk.they FM leader,PL if who NFM them FM

maala nan fotogcha.
take FM pig.their

7. The *Lifon* ritual. 8. The elders discuss whose pigs will be taken to be butchered.

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9. Fafoy nan ilifon nan kakachangyan.
big.pig FM kill.for.Lifon FM rich.person,PL

9. The rich provide a big pig for the *Lifon* ritual.

10. Mo nakhaeb nan totyacha, enchat alaen nan
if made FM discussion.their go.they,PART get FM
ilifoncha et khekhechencha isnan afob-ong nan chey ninkwa
for.Lifon.their CONJ divide.they NFM house,PL POSS those owner
isnan fotog ay milifon.
POSS pig LK for.Lifon

10. When they have reached a decision, they will go to get what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual, and they will cut it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual.

11. Mafingit nan maala.
share FM take

11. The sections of the meat to be distributed are shared out.

12. Nan ad-i mafingit maiskhep is afong.
FM not share put.inside NFM house

12. What is not to be distributed is put inside the house.

13. Miskhep is afong nan choway lapa, choway opo, atey,
put.inside NFM house FM two,LK foreleg two,LK hind.leg liver
fowang, olo, chala, ya nan kopkop.
stomach head blood and FM skin

13. The two forelegs, the two hind legs, the liver, the stomach, the head, the blood, and the skin are all put inside the house.

14. Nan nay chay eg-ay nafingit eyeycha isnan afong ay
FM this those,LK not share take.they NFM house LK
maamongancha.
gathering.place.their

14. Those parts not to be distributed are taken to the house where they will gather.

15. Nan nay Lifon, siya nan manganan nan kakachangyan.
FM this Lifon it FM eating.time POSS rich.person,PL

15. This *Lifon* ritual is the time when the rich celebrate.

16. Nay met achi, mafalin ay makifingit nan ib-a ay
this PART PART possible LK share.with FM friend,PL LK
poposi.
poor.person,PL

16. But poor friends can also be given a share.

17. Isnan maschem nan chey ay Lifon, mangan chay kakachangyan.
NFM night POSS that LK Lifon eat they,LK rich.person,PL

17. The night of that *Lifon* ritual, the rich eat.

18. Maam-among nan sinpangapo paymo nan sinpangafong yangkhay.
gather FM clan or FM household only

18. The whole clan or just the household gather.

19. Mo akit nan maamong, siya chi nan kananchan, "Sinalikhebkheb".
if few FM gather this that FM say.they,QF exclusive

19. If there are only a few who gather, it is called "an exclusive group".

20. Nan maala, fingiten nan takho.
FM take share FM person

20. The people receive shares of meat.

21. Nan fala, siya nan enkwan nan ongang-a ay lalalaki.
FM lungs it FM belong POSS child,PL LK male,PL

21. The lungs belong to the boys.

22. Nan sofod, enkwan nan amam-a.
FM belly belong POSS old.man,PL

22. The stomach skin is for the old men.

23. Nan falong-a paymo ipos, enkwan nan pangolo paymo nan
FM tail.plus or tail belong POSS leader or POSS
inkhekhed.
divider,PL

23. The tail plus its root, or the tail alone, belongs to the leaders or to the ones who do the butchering.

24. Nan tete ya nan palagpag enkwan nan inasaw-an paymo
FM withers and FM ribs belong POSS just.married or
nan fabfafallo.
POSS young.man,PL

24. The ridge between the shoulder bones and the ribs are for newly married men or for the young men.

25. Maid infingit isnan fabfafai.
none share NFM woman,PL

25. There is nothing shared among the women.

26. Mo nachokpos nan Lifon, sachat akhes illokhi nan Soyok.
when finish FM Lifon then.they,PART also begin FM Soyok

26. When the *Lifon* ritual is finished, then they also begin the *Soyok* ritual.

27. Soyok.
Soyok

27. The *Soyok* ritual.

28. Nan Soyok kaagna nan Lifon.
FM Soyok like.it FM Lifon

28. The *Soyok* ritual is similar to the *Lifon* ritual.

29. In-ala chas fotog magtek nan Soyok kwan si
get they,NFM pig but FM Soyok belong POSS
katakhotakho.
total.population

29. They butcher pigs, but the *Soyok* ritual is for all the people.

30. Ad-i kag nan Lifon ay kwan yangkhay si kakachangyan.
not like FM Lifon LK belong only POSS rich.person,PL

30. It is not like the *Lifon* ritual, which is only for the rich.

31. Matotyacha nan sinpangapo paymo nan sinpangafong mo sino ken
discuss.they FM clan or FM household if who NFM
chaicha nan eg-ay kaala nan walakcha, id tawen.
them FM not bring FM share.their last year

31. The clan or household discuss who among them did not make their contribution last year.

32. Siya chana nan madpap nan fotogcha idwanin.
this these FM catch FM pig.their now

32. They are the ones to contribute (lit., catch) their pigs this time.

33. Mo nan walak nan esa ay maala ya inmawas et matokachan
if FM share POSS one LK take and excessive CONJ compensate
is fan-ig ay fotog paymo siping.
NFM small LK pig or money

33. If the pig contributed by one person is bigger than his share, the excess of his contribution is replaced by a small pig or money.

34. Makhekhed nan nay chay fotog isnan afob-ong nan cheychay
divide FM this they,LK pig NFM house,PL POSS those,LK
madpap nan fotogcha.
catch FM pig.their

34. These pigs are butchered at the houses of their owners.

35. Sachat eyey isnan afong ay maamongancha isnan
then.they,PART take NFM house LK gathering.place.their NFM
maschem.
night

35. Then they take it to the house where they will gather at night.

36. Isnan chey ay maschem si Soyok, mangan nan maam-among ay
NFM that LK night POSS Soyok eat FM gather LK
sinpangapo paymo sinpangafong.
clan or household

36. That night of the *Soyok* ritual, the clan or household who are gathered eat together.

37. Maoto nan poto, chala, atey ya nan tap-in nan kopkop ya
cook FM intestines blood liver and FM other POSS skin and
nan fekhas.
POSS flesh

37. What is cooked is the intestines, the blood, the liver, and some parts of the skin and the flesh.

38. Isnan timpo ay cha maoto nan watwat, mangay-ayyeng nan
NFM time LK CONT cook FM meat sing.ayyeng FM
amam-a.
old.man,PL

38. While the meat is cooking, the old men sing the *ayyeng* song.

39. Mo mangancha tomke nan ayyeng.
when eat.they stop FM ayyeng

39. When they eat, they stop singing the *ayyeng* song.

40. Miwatwat nan sibfancha yangkhay.
share FM viand.their only

40. Only meat to be eaten is distributed.

41. Magtek wad-ay nan kasin maiwalas ay naoto ay pasing isnan
but there.is FM again share LK cook LK share NFM
malpasanchay manganan.
finish.time.their,LK eating.time

41. But there is also a distribution of cooked pieces, after they have finished eating.

42. Teken akhes nan kasin maiwalas ay inlangta ay pasing.
different also FM again share LK raw LK share

42. There is also a different distribution of raw pieces.

43. Nan kafifilang nan afob-ong ay maamong, siya akhes nan filang
FM tally POSS house,PL LK gather that also FM count
nan pasing ay inlangta.
POSS share LK raw

43. The number of raw pieces to be distributed, is according to the number of households gathered.

44. Mo machokpos nan takho nan Soyok et kawaksana
when finish FM person FM Soyok CONJ tomorrow.time.its
et Mangmang.
PART Mangmang

44. When the people have finished the *Soyok* ritual, the *Mangmang* ritual is held the next day.

45. Mangmang. 46. Waschin infaig nan takho isnan manok.
Mangmang each beat FM person NFM chicken

45. The *Mangmang* ritual.
46. Each household kills a chicken.

47. San cheychay naala paymo nakhekhed nan fotogcha issan Lifon
FM those,LK take or divide FM pig.their NFM Lifon
paymo issan Soyok et itkemcha kannay san olon san nailifon
or NFM Soyok CONJ add.they immediately FM head POSS for.Lifon
paymo naisoyok ay fotogcha.
or for.Soyok LK pig.their

47. Those who butchered their pigs for the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, cook the head of their *Lifon* pig or *Soyok* pig together with the chicken.

48. Nan tapina itkemcha san pasingcha paymo san finingitcha
FM other.its add.they FM share.their or FM distribution.their
issan Soyok.
NFM Soyok

48. The others add their (uncooked) share or their distributed share from the *Soyok* ritual.

49. Isnan kawaksana Apey.
NFM tomorrow.time.its Apey

49. The next day is the *Apey* ritual.

50. Apey. 51. Omala cha issan inasinancha ay pasingcha paymo
Apey get they NFM salt.their LK share.their or
finingitcha issan Lifon paymo issan Soyok is iyapeycha.
distribute.their NFM Lifon or NFM Soyok NFM do.Apey.they

50. The *Apey* ritual.
51. They get their (uncooked) share that they have salted or their distributed share from the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, to do the *Apey* ritual.

52. Omala cha akhes is tapey paymo fayyas si
get they also NFM rice.wine or sugarcane.wine FM
seng-ewcha ay mangapey.
spit.they LK do.Apey

52. They also get rice wine or sugarcane wine to spit out as part of the *Apey* ritual.

53. Mo omey cha iska payewcha ay mangapey chentancha nan
when go they LOC rice.field.their LK do.Apey kindle.they FM
iyapeycha.
for.Apey.their

53. When they go to their rice fields to do the *Apey* ritual, they kindle fire to cook the meat for the *Apey* ritual.

54a. Sachat alan nan paloki ya togpopancha isnan tapey
then.they,PART get FM paloki and spit.they NFM rice.wine
ay mangwanin,
LK say,QF

54a. Then they get a *paloki* plant and spit rice wine onto it, saying,

54b. "Togpopak sik-a ay paloki ta mapigpikhipig nan pakhey,
spit.I you LK paloki so.that tall.and.straight FM rice
ta maikaskasiw isnan otot, faniyas, tilin ya isnan am-in ay
so.that free NFM rat lizard rice.bird and NFM all LK
mamakawas isnan payew ya isnan pakhey."
destroy NFM rice.field and NFM rice

54b. "I spit on you, *paloki*, so that the rice plants will grow tall, so that they will be free from rats, lizards, rice birds, and all that destroy the fields and the rice plants."

55. Sachat isokfit nan paloki iska toping paymo sipitencha
then.they,PART insert FM paloki LOC rock.wall or wedge.they
isnan lolo, sachat ipadsek isnan kapayew.
NFM stick then.they,PART embed NFM LOC,rice.field

55. Then they insert the *paloki* between the stones of the rock wall or wedge it into a split stick and embed it in the rice field.

56. Kelnatencha yangkhay nan inasin ay iyapeycha.
warm.they only FM salted.meat LK do.Apey.they

56. They just heat the salted meat which they use for the *Apey* ritual.

57. Iyat-atoncha na isnan kapayepayewcha.
transfer.they it NFM LOC,rice.field,PL,their

57. They transfer it to each of their fields, doing the same thing.

58. Isnan esay payew esay paloki nan isokfitcha iska
NFM one,LK rice.field one,LK paloki FM insert.they LOC
topingna paymo sipitencha isnan lolo sachat ipadsek.
rock.wall.its or wedge.they NFM stick then.they,PART embed

58. In each rice field they insert one stem of *paloki* between the stones of the rock wall, or wedge it into a (split) stick and embed it in the rice field.

59. Mo sinpoo nan payewna et sinpoo akhes ay paloki nan
if ten FM rice.field.his PART ten also LK paloki FM
maosal.
use

59. If he has ten rice fields, he also uses ten *paloki*.

60. Mo eb-eb nan payew ay apeyancha et iyapeycha nan
if spring FM rice.field LK do.Apey.they CONJ do.Apey.they FM
manok.
chicken

60. If the rice field for which they are doing the *Apey* ritual has its own spring, they use a chicken for the ritual.

61. Faikhencha sachat lakhiman ya sepwaken nan manok.
beat.they then.they,PART burn and section FM chicken

61. They kill the chicken, then burn the feathers and butcher it.

62. Otowencha, magtek kecheng nan fitli ya nan potona nan
cook.they but only FM gizzard and FM intestine.its FM
sibfancha id ilit.
viand.their at outside

62. They cook it, but it is only the gizzard and its intestines that they eat outside the village.

63. Mo kinonfoscha ay nangapey isnan kapayepayewcha,
if finish.they LK do.Apey NFM LOC,rice.field,PL,their
isaacha nan inyapeycha isnan afong ay manganancha.
go.home.they FM do.Apey.they NFM house LK eating.time.their

63. When they have finished the *Apey* ritual in the rice fields, they bring home the meat used in the ritual to the house where they will eat.

64. Isnan maschem milokhi nan am-among isnan Apey.
NFM night begin FM gathering NFM Apey

64. At night the gathering for the *Apey* ritual begins.

65. Tolo et nan am-among isnan Innana.
three PART FM gathering NFM Innana

65. There are three gatherings for the *Innana* rituals.

66. Am-among isnan Lifon ay kwan si kakachangyan.
gathering NFM Lifon LK belong POSS rich.person,PL

66. The gathering for the *Lifon* ritual is for the rich.

67. Am-among isnan Soyok ya am-among isnan Apey.
gathering NFM Soyok and gathering NFM Apey

67. The gathering for the *Soyok* ritual and the *Apey* ritual (are the other two).

68. Isnan kawaksana encha mangachiw.
NFM tomorrow.time.its go.they catch.fish

68. On the morrow they go to catch fish.

69. Isnan chey ay akhew igkhiyakhancha nan aliwidcha ya
NFM that LK day carry.plate.they FM relative.in.law.their and
nan katokhangancha isnan Fontok ya id Samoki.
FM parent.in.law.their NFM Bontoc and at Samoki

69. On that day they take a plate of food to the parents of their children-in-law and to their parents-in-law who live in Bontoc and Samoki.

70. Isnan pidwan si kachiw igkhiyakhancha nan alilwidcha paymo
NFM second NFM fish carry.plate.they FM relative.their or
katokhangancha isnan kafakhaang.
parent.in.law.their NFM village

70. On the second day of catching fish, they take a plate of food to their relatives or parents-in-law in the villages.

71. Mawakas kasin Patay ya Tengaw.
morrow again Patay and Tengaw

71. On the next day again are the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals.

72. Tengaw. 73. Mamatay ona nan amam-a.
Tengaw do.Patay first FM old.man,PL

72. The *Tengaw* ritual.
73. The old men first perform the *Patay* ritual.

74. Ipataycha nan fotog nan pomapatay iska
do.Patay.they FM pig POSS sacred.tree.guardian LOC
Papatayan.
sacred.tree

74. They kill for the *Patay* ritual the pig of the one who has responsibility for the sacred tree, at the sacred tree.

75. Nan nay fotog et, maiyob-ofan isnan omili.
FM this pig CONJ contribute NFM village

75. This pig will be paid for by contributions from the village people.

76. Pakhey nan miyob-ob paymo siping.
rice FM contribute or money

76. They contribute money or rice.

77. Isnan maschem insalang nan ongang-a.
NFM night announce FM child,PL

77. At night the children announce the *Tengaw* ritual.

78a. Ifokhawchay
call.they,LK

78a. They shout,

78b. "Is wakas et Tengaw."
at morrow CONJ Tengaw

78b. "Tomorrow is a *Tengaw* ritual rest day."

79. Kawaksana, intengaw nan katakhotakho.
tomorrow.time.its hold.Tengaw FM total.population

79. The next day, the people observe the *Tengaw* ritual rest day.

80. Mid mamokfoknag.
none go.to.field

80. Nobody goes to the fields.

81. Kasin mawakas mo khawis nan fatawa, mamoknagchat nan
again morrow if good FM world go.to.field.they,PART FM
takho.
person

81. On the next day, if there have been no untoward happenings, the people go to the fields.

82. Siyana nan Tengaw ay anongos nan Innana.
this FM Tengaw LK end POSS Innana

82. That is the *Tengaw* ritual, which is the end of the *Innana* rituals.

83. Nan mangwaniyak ay khawis nan Innana ay ekhad ay
FM say.I LK good FM Innana LK custom LK
mawanwaned, tay isnan Innana maam-among nan kaapona
inherit because NFM Innana gather FM generation
paymo nan sinpangafong.
or FM household

83. The reason that I say that the *Innana* rituals are good customs handed down, is because at the *Innana* rituals the clan or household gathers.

84. Siya nan mangammowan nan ongang-a isnan kakyongcha,
this FM know.time FM child,PL NFM cousin,PL,their
in-acha am-acha, ikik-itcha ya isnan tap-ina
aunt,PL,their uncle,PL,their grandparent,PL,their and NFM rest,PL,its
ay inchan ken chaicha ay ib-acha ay naam-among.
LK meet NFM them LK friend,PL,their LK gather

84. That is when the children get to know their cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and other friends who have gathered with them.

85. Siya akhes nan mangipafikas isnan anan-ak ay inchog-an
this also FM strengthen NFM offspring,PL LK manage.well
ta way iwalakcha isnan Innana.
so.that there.is contribute.they NFM Innana

85. That also is what causes children to be encouraged to manage well so that they will have a contribution for the *Innana* rituals.

86. Tay mo ad-i cha inchog-an et mid iwalakcha isnan
because if not they manage.well CONJ none contribute.they NFM
Innana.
Innana

86. Because if they don't manage well, they will have no contribution for the *Innana* rituals.

87. Nan esay takho ay ad-i inwalwalak et siyachi isnan esay
FM one,LK person LK not contribute CONJ it.that NFM one,LK
tawen.
year

87. If a person does not contribute, that's okay for one year.

88. Nan pay katawetawen!
FM again year,PL

88. How about for other years!

89a. Nan sikhab nan inwalakana et tellachencha tay
FM difficulty POSS contribute.time.his CONJ cut.off.they because
kananchan,
say.they,QF

89a. His difficulty at the time of contributing is this, they cut him from participating because they say,

89b. "Ay ke lagwey ta aped kas makikikan olay mid
PART PART vegetables so.that just you,NFM eat.with even none
walakmo!"
contribution.your

89b. "Is it just vegetables that we are eating that you just join in eating, even if you have made no contribution!"

90. Siyana nan tet-ewa ay on-on nan Innana.
this FM truth LK detail POSS Innana

90. Those are the true details of the *Innana* rituals.

Appendix 2

Cohesion in pairs of adjacent sentences of the *Innana* text

This description of intersentential cohesive ties follows to a large extent the analysis of cohesion by Halliday and Hasan (1976). The terminology closely follows their "Summary of Cohesion" (ibid., 333-38). The layout was inspired by Gutwinski (1976). The layout of sentences 36 and 37 is an example:

36. Isnan chey ay maschem si Soyok, mangan nan maam-among ay NFM that LK night POSS Soyok eat FM gather LK *sinpangapo paymo sinpangafong.* clan or household	36. That night of the *Soyok* ritual, the clan or household who are gathered eat together.
37. //2// Maoto nan poto, chala, atey ya nan tap-in nan kopkop cook FM intestines blood liver and FM other POSS skin *ya nan fekhas.* and POSS flesh	37. What is cooked is the intestines, the blood, the liver, and some parts of the skin and the flesh.

Comment:

After the sentence number 37, the number 2 appears in double bars, thus: //2//. It indicates the number of potentially cohesive words, etc., that we see in the second of the pair of sentences. Whether or not these are actually cohesive is debatable, as we shall see in a moment. Simply note at this point that this number represents the ways in which the second sentence may be cohesive with the first of that pair. It does not reflect cohesion between the second sentence and any other part of the text.

Cohesive ties:

The subtitle cohesive ties refers only to the relationship between the pair of sentences in focus, in this case the relationship between sentences 36 and 37.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

When Conjunction occurs under the subtitle Cohesive ties, then it is perceived as one of the potentially cohesive ties between the pair of sentences. If Conjunction appears under the next subtitle Other ties, then that implies that there is no close logical relationship between the pair of sentences. Rather, it implies that the second of the pair is in a closer logical relationship with some other part of the *Innana* text than it is with the sentence immediately preceding it. Occasionally Conjunction occurs under both subtitles. This implies that the second sentence of the pair has a logical relationship both with its adjacent partner and with sentences occurring earlier in the text.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2 *maoto* 'is cooked': collocation with *mangan* 'eat' (I).

The word *maoto* in the second sentence, sentence 37, collocates with the word *mangan* in sentence 36. That relationship is made explicit—collocation. After the word *mangan* is the abbreviation in parentheses: (I). This abbreviation refers to one of Ellen Prince's categories of new or old information (see Appendix 4). Prince analyzed the given/new distinction and suggested seven categories by which entities in a text could be classified and then designated new or given (1979:266-80). The *Innana* text uses five of the seven categories. The majority of entities in the *Innana* text are either noncontaining inferrable (I) or evoked textually (E).

Other ties: //9//

The second subtitle refers to the ways in which the second sentence of the pair may be seen to relate to previous sentences other than the sentence immediately preceding it. This subtitle refers, for example, to the way in which sentence 37 may relate to any sentence up to and including sentence 35, but not sentence 36. The number in double bars, //9//, indicates the number of items in sentence 37 that are potentially cohesive with previous sentences apart from sentence 36.

Other ties: //9//

1,2,3,4 *nan poto, chala, atey* 'the intestines, the blood, the liver': definite article; each item is in a part-whole relationship to *fotog* 'pig' (sentence 34) (1).

The numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 refer to the following items: *nan, poto, chala, atey*. Then there is an English translation which corresponds to the items just mentioned. This is followed by a colon and an explanation of the potentially cohesive words. *Nan* is a definite article, and each of the next three items is in a part-whole relationship to *fotog* 'pig' back in sentence 34. The question that arises here is, Are each of these items a separate cohesive tie, or do they together form one tie? The same question needs to be answered when several pronominal references are in the second of a pair of sentences: Are they each cohesive with the first sentence, or do they together forge one link to the first sentence? Halliday and Hasan discuss this (1976:341):

> Sentence 7: The two occurrences of she are both entered [as cohesive ties to sentence 5 and 4 where she is previously mentioned, and to sentence 3 where the antecedent is Alice]. It could be argued that two occurrences of a reference item constitute only a single tie; but this would be difficult to apply, and we adopt the simpler solution.

Gutwinski goes one step further. Whereas Halliday and Hasan include more than one pronominal reference item as seen above, they exclude possessive pronouns where there is a co-reference item in the same sentence. Gutwinski includes both when there is a possessive pronoun and a co-reference item. However, he seems to exclude possessiveness when they appear without a co-reference item in the same sentence, even if the antecedent does exist in the preceding sentence.

This confusion comes, in Hale's view (personal communication), from a limited view of the relationship between the filing system of language and sentence boundaries. Rather than speak of several occurrences within one sentence constituting either "one cohesive tie" or "several cohesive ties", he speaks of one sentence containing several references to a particular file. Each one, whether a full nominal, a pronominal or a possessive, is relevant and important, and systematic. Every one, then, is not simply a "cohesive tie to the sentence immediately preceding it", but rather a strategic build up, or reference to, a particular file within the confines of that particular sentence. To view several references to a particular entity as a single cohesive tie, is to obscure the author's control of the filing system. This we also do by excluding possessiveness. So in this analysis we have included both multiple reference and possessives as "potentially cohesive".

Finally, we have enclosed words which are not relevant to cohesion between the sentences in parentheses, as in the case of *(tap-i)* and *(ya)* below.

Other ties: //9//

1,2,3,4 *nan poto, chala, atey* 'the intestines, the blood, the liver': definite article; each is in part-whole relationship to *fotog* 'pig' (sentence 34) (1).

5,6,7 *nan (tap-i)n nan kopkop* '(some) parts of the skin': definite article; possessive article; part-whole relationship to *fotog* 'pig' (sentence 34) (1).

8,9 *(ya) nan fekhas* '(and) the flesh': possessive article; part-whole relationship to *fotog* 'pig' (sentence 34) (1).

Nan On-on nan Innana **The details of the *Innana***
The Details of.the Innana

1. //4// Chengngenyo nan kaon-onan nan Innana.
hear.you FM details POSS Innana

1. Listen to the details of the *Innana* rituals.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: simple additive, internal.
2 *nan (kaon-onan)* 'the details': focus marker therefore definite.
3 *kaon-onan* 'details': lexical reiteration of root (E).
4,5 *nan Innana 'Innana* rituals': possessive article; lexical repetition (E).

---

1. Chengngenyo nan kaon-onan nan Innana.
hear.you FM details POSS Innana

1. Listen to the details of the *Innana* rituals.

2. //4// Nan Innana, esa ay kakhawisan ay ekhad id sangad-om ay
FM Innana one LK very.good LK custom at long.ago LK

mawanwaned idwanin isnan ili ay Fontok, Samoki ya nan tap-in
inherit now NFM village LK Bontoc Samoki and FM rest

nan kafakhaang.
POSS village

2. The *Innana*, it is one of the best customs of long ago handed down to the people of Bontoc, Samoki, and the other villages.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: simple additive, internal.
2,3 *nan Innana* 'the *Innana* rituals': definite article; lexical repetition (E).
4 *ekhad* 'custom': lexical generic-specific relationship to *Innana* (I).

---

2. Nan Innana, esa ay kakhawisan ay ekhad id sangad-om ay
FM Innana one LK very.good LK custom at long.ago LK

mawanwaned idwanin isnan ili ay Fontok, Samoki ya nan tap-in
inherit now NFM village LK Bontoc Samoki and FM rest

nan kafakhaang.
POSS village

2. The *Innana*, it is one of the best customs of long ago handed down to the people of Bontoc, Samoki and the other villages.

3. //5// Maangnen nan nay Innana isnan tinawen ay kalpasan nan
is.done FM this Innana NFM each.year LK finish.time FM

kifos si sama ya toned isnan chinakhon.
end POSS field.work and plant NFM each.dry.season

3. This *Innana* ritual is done every year just after the end of the working of the fields and the planting in the dry season.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: simple additive, internal.
2,3,4 *nan nay Innana* 'this *Innana*': definite article; determiner; lexical repetition (E).
5 *tinawan* 'every year': collocation to *sangad-om* and *mawanwaned* (I).

---

3. Maangnen nan nay Innana isnan tinawen ay kalpasan nan kifos
is.done FM this Innana NFM each.year LK finish.time FM end

si sama ya toned isnan chinakhon.
POSS field.work and plant NFM each.dry.season

3. This *Innana* ritual is done every year just after the end of the working of the fields and the planting in the dry season.

4a. //20// Isnan timpon nan Innana, maangnen omona nan Lifon;
NFM time.of POSS Innana is.done first FM Lifon

4a. At the time of the *Innana*, the *Lifon* ritual is done first;

4b. mikadwa, maangnen nan Soyok;
second is.done FM Soyok

4b. second, the *Soyok* ritual is done;

4c. maikatlo, maangnen nan Mangmang
third is.done FM Mangmang

4c. third, the *Mangmang* ritual is done;

4d. mikap-at maangnen nan Apey;
fourth is.done FM Apey

4d. fourth, the *Apey* ritual is done;

4e. mikalima, maangnen nan Patay ya nan Tengaw.
fifth is.done FM Patay and FM Tengaw

4e. and fifth, the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals are done.

Cohesive ties, Section 4a:

1 Conjunction: simple simultaneous temporal, external.

2,3 *nan Innana* 'the *Innana* ritual': possessive article; lexical repetition (E).

4 *maangnen* 'is done': lexical repetition (E).

5,6 *nan Lifon* 'the *Lifon* ritual': definite article; part-whole relationship to *Innana* (I).

Section 4b:

1 *maangnen* 'is done': lexical repetition (E).

2,3 *nan Soyok* 'the *Soyok* ritual': definite article; part-whole relationship to *Innana* (I).

Section 4c:

1 *maangnen* 'is done': lexical repetition (E).

2,3 *nan Mangmang* 'the *Mangmang* ritual': definite article; part-whole relationship to *Innana* (I).

Section 4d:

1 *maangnen* 'is done': lexical repetition (E).

2,3 *nan Apey* 'the *Apey* ritual': definite article; part-whole relationship to *Innana* (I).

Section 4e:

1 *maangnen* 'is done': lexical repetition (E).

2,3 *nan Patay* 'the *Patay* ritual': definite article; part-whole relationship to *Innana* (I).

4,5 *nan Tengaw* 'the *Tengaw* ritual': definite article; part-whole relationship to *Innana* (I).

4a. Isnan timpon nan Innana, maangnen omona nan Lifon;
NFM time.of POSS Innana is.done first FM Lifon

4a. At the time of the *Innana*, the *Lifon* ritual is done first;

4b. mikadwa, maangnen nan Soyok;
second is.done FM Soyok

4b. second, the *Soyok* ritual is done;

4c. maikatlo, maangnen nan Mangmang;
third is.done FM Mangmang

4c. third, the *Mangmang* ritual is done;

4d. mikap-at maangnen nan Apey;
fourth is.done FM Apey

4d. fourth, the *Apey* ritual is done;

4e. mikalima, maangnen nan Patay ya nan Tengaw.
fifth is.done FM Patay and FM Tengaw

4e. and fifth, the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals are done.

5. //5// Nan kadchakhopan nan lima ay inon-onko siya nan makwanin
FM all.together POSS five LK detail.I this FM call,QF

Innana.
Innana

5. The five rituals that I have outlined are together called the *Innana* rituals.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: summarizing, temporal, internal.

2,3 *nan kadchakhopan* '(the sum) together': definite article; general, inclusive of sentence 4 (I).

4,5 *nan lima* 'the five': possessive article; numeral, inclusive; nominal substitution (E).

Other ties: //2//

1 *inon-on(ko)* '(I) detailed': lexical repetition (E) to *(inon-on)ko* 'I (detailed)': speaker-hearer performative relative to *-yo* in sentence 1.

---

5. Nan kadchakhopan nan lima ay inon-onko siya nan makwan.
FM all.together POSS five LK detail.I this FM call,QF

Innana.
Innana

5. The five rituals that I have outlined are together called the *Innana* rituals.

6. //5// Idwanin, ibfakhak nan kasasaad nan nay chay nginadnak
now tell.I FM status FM this those,LK name.I

milokhi isnan Lifon.
begin NFM Lifon

6. Now I will tell the meaning of those that I have mentioned, beginning with the *Lifon* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: future, here and now, internal *idwanin*.

2 *(ibfakha)k* 'I (tell)': singular pronominal reference (ES, I).

3,4 *nan nay cha(y nginadnak)* 'those (that I have mentioned)': definite article; plural demonstrative pronoun.

5 *nginadnak* 'I have mentioned': collocation to *inon-on(ko)* (I); pronominal reference (E).

Other ties: //3//

1 *ibfakha(k)* '(I) tell': synonym of *inon-on(ko)* (sentence 5), antonym of *chengnge(yo)* (sentence 1) (E).

2 *milokhi* 'beginning': collocation with *omona* (sentence 4) (I).

3 *Lifon* 'Lifon rituals': part-whole to *Innana* (sentence 5), and lexical repetition of *Lifon* (sentence 4) (E).

---

6. Idwanin, ibfakhak nan kasasaad nan nay chay nginadnak milokhi
now tell.I FM status FM this those,LK name.I begin

isnan Lifon. 7. //2// Lifon.
NFM Lifon Lifon

6. Now I will tell the meaning of those that I have mentioned, beginning with the *Lifon* ritual. 7. The *Lifon* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2 *Lifon* 'the *Lifon* ritual': lexical repetition (E).

Other ties: //1//

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal - antecedent sentence 1.

---

7. Lifon. 8. //1// Matotyacha nan papangolo mo sino ken chaicha nan
Lifon talk.they FM leader,PL if who NFM them FM

maala nan fotogcha.
take FM pig.their

7. The *Lifon* ritual. 8. The elders discuss whose pigs will be taken to be butchered.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

Other ties: //4//

1,2 *nan papangolo* 'the leaders': definite article: textually inferrable (I).

3,4 *nan fotog(cha)* '(their) pigs': definite article; textually inferrable (I).

8. Matotyacha nan papangolo mo sino ken chaicha nan maala nan
talk.they FM leader,PL if who NFM them FM take FM

fotogcha.
pig.their

8. The elders discuss whose pigs will be taken to be butchered.

9. //4// Fafoy nan ilifon nan kakachangyan.
big.pig FM kill.for.Lifon FM rich.person,PL

9. The rich provide a big pig for the *Lifon* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2 *fafoy* 'a big pig': near-synonym (E).

3,4 *nan kakachangyan* 'the rich': definite article; near synonym with *papangolo* (I).

Other ties: //2//

1,2 *nan ilifon* '(what they) kill for *Lifon*': definite article; lexical repetition to section heading (7) (E).

---

9. Fafoy nan ilifon nan kakachangyan.
big.pig FM kill.for.Lifon FM rich.person,PL

9. The rich provide a big pig for the *Lifon* ritual.

10. //16// Mo nakhaeb nan totyacha, enchat alaen nan
if made FM discussion.their go.they,PART get FM
ilifoncha et khekhechencha isnan afob-ong nan chey ninkwa
for.Lifon.their CONJ divide.they NFM house,PL POSS those owner
isnan fotog ay milifon.
POSS pig LK for.Lifon

10. When they have reached a decision, they will go to get what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual, and they will cut it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: simple, sequential, temporal, external.

2,3 *nan (totya)cha* 'their (decision)': definite article; plural pronominal reference (E).

4 *(en)cha(t)* 'they go': plural pronominal reference (E).

5 *alaen* 'get': specific to generic *ilifon* (E). reiteration of root (sentence 8) (E).

6,7,8 *nan ilifon(cha)* 'what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual': definite article; nominal substitute for *fafoy* (E). substitute itself is lexical repetition; plural pronominal possessive(E).

9,10 *khekhechencha* 'they divide': specific to generic *ilifon* (E), plural pronominal reference (E).

11,12,13 *afob-ong nan chey (ninkwa)* 'houses of (those) owners': containing inferrable from *kaka-changyan* (C1); possessive article; determiner.

14,15,16 *(ninkwa) isnan fotog (ay) milifon* '(owners) of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual': possessive article; near-synonym (E): reiteration of root (E).

Other ties: //2//

1 *(nan) totya(cha)* '(their) decision': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 8) (E).

2 *ninkwa* 'owners': synonym to possessive (sentence 8) (E).

---

10. Mo nakhaeb nan totyacha, enchat alaen nan
if made FM discussion.their go.they,PART get FM
ilifoncha et khekhechencha isnan afob-ong nan chey ninkwa
for.Lifon.their CONJ divide.they NFM house,PL POSS those owner
isnan fotog ay milifon.
POSS pig LK for.Lifon

10. When they have reached a decision, they will go to get what they will butcher for the *Lifon* ritual, and they will cut it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the *Lifon* ritual.

11. //4// Mafingit nan maala.
share FM take

11. The sections of the meat to be distributed are shared out.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external.

2 *mafingit* 'shared': collocates with *khekhechen* (1).

3,4 *nan maala* 'what is taken': definite article; nominal (substitute for item in part-whole relationship to *nan ilifoncha* (E), substitute is lexical reiteration of root.)

11. Mafingit nan maala.
share FM take

11. The sections of the meat to be distributed are shared out.

12. //3// Nan ad-i mafingit maiskhep is afong.
FM not share put.inside NFM house

12. What is not to be distributed is put inside the house.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: emphatic, contrastive, adversative, external.

2,3 *nan (ad-i) mafingit* 'what is (not) shared': definite article; nominal substitute for item in complementary partnership with *nan maala* (E), substitute is lexical repetition.

Other ties: //1//

1 *afong* 'house': lexical repetition (sentence 10) (E).

---

12. Nan ad-i mafingit maiskhep is afong.
FM not share put.inside NFM house

12. What is not to be distributed is put inside the house.

13. //12// Miskhep is afong nan choway lapa, choway opo,
put.inside NFM house FM two,LK foreleg two,LK hind.leg

atey, fowang, olo, chala, ya nan kopkop.
liver stomach head blood and FM skin

13. The two forelegs, the two hind legs, the liver, the stomach, the head, the blood, and the skin are all put inside the house.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2 *miskhep* 'put inside': lexical repetition (E).

3 *afong* 'house': lexical repetition (E).

4, 5 *nan (choway) lapa* 'the (two) forelegs': definite article: part-whole relationship to *nan ad-i mafingit* (E).

6,7,8,9,10 *(choway) opo, atey, fowang, olo, chala* '(two) hind legs, liver, stomach, head, blood': each item is in part-whole relationship to *nan ad-i mafingit* (E).

11,12 *nan kopkop* 'the skin': definite article; part-whole relationship to *nan ad-i mafingit* (E).

13. Miskhep is afong nan choway lapa, choway opo, atey,
put.inside NFM house FM two,LK foreleg two,LK hind.leg liver

fowang, olo, chala, ya nan kopkop.
stomach head blood and FM skin

13. The two forelegs, the two hind legs, the liver, the stomach, the head, the blood, and the skin are all put inside the house.

14. //2// Nan nay chay eg-ay nafingit eyeycha isnan afong ay
FM this those,LK not share take.they NFM house LK

maamongancha.
gathering.place.their

14. Those parts not to be distributed are taken to the house where they will gather.

Cohesive ties:

1,2 *nan nay cha(y)* 'those': definite article; plural; demonstrative pronoun (E).

Other ties: //5//

1 Conjunction: singular, sequential, simple, temporal, external.

2 *(eg-ay) nafingit* '(not yet) distributed': lexical reiteration of root (E).

3 *(eyey)cha* 'they (take)': plural pronominal reference (sentence 10) (E).

4 *afong* 'house': non-coreferential lexical repetition (sentence 12), containing inferrable (CI).

5 *(maamongan)cha* '(place of) their (gathering)': plural pronominal possessive (sentence 10) (E).

---

14. Nan nay chay eg-ay nafingit eyeycha isnan afong ay
FM this those,LK not share take.they NFM house LK
maamongancha.
gathering.place.their

14. Those parts not to be distributed are taken to the house where they will gather.

15. //8// Nan nay Lifon, siya nan manganan nan kakachangyan.
FM this Lifon it FM eating.time POSS rich.person,PL

15. This *Lifon* ritual is the time when the rich celebrate.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: summarizing, temporal internal.

2,3,4 *Nan nay Lifon* 'this *Lifon*': definite article; demonstrative pronoun; superordinate (E).

5,6 *nan manganan* 'the place of eating': definite article; collocation with *maamongan* (I).

7,8 *nan kakachangyan* 'the rich people': possessive article; specification of pronoun *-cha* (E).

---

15. Nan nay Lifon, siya nan manganan nan kakachangyan.
FM this Lifon it FM eating.time POSS rich.person,PL

15. This *Lifon* ritual is the time when the rich celebrate.

16. //4// Nay met achi, mafalin ay makifingit nan ib-a ay
this PART PART possible LK share.with FM friend,PL LK
poposi.
poor.person,PL

16. But poor friends can also be given a share.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: emphatic, adversative, external *(Nay met achi)*.

2,3,4 *nan ib-a (ay) poposi* 'the poor friends': definite article; inferrable (I); antonym (I).

Other ties: //1//

1 *makifingit* 'share with': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 12) (E).

---

16. Nay met achi, mafalin ay makifingit nan ib-a ay
this PART PART possible LK share.with FM friend,PL LK
poposi.
poor.person,PL

16. But poor friends can also be given a share.

17. //2// Isnan maschem nan chey ay Lifon, mangan chay
NFM night POSS that LK Lifon eat they,LK
kakachangyan.
rich.person,PL

17. The night of that *Lifon* ritual, the rich eat.

Cohesive ties:

1,2 *nan chey (ay Lifon)* 'that (*Lifon*)': possessive article; demonstrative pronoun.

Other ties: //5//

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external (time phrase).

2 *Lifon* '*Lifon*': lexical repetition (sentence 15) (E).

3,4,5 *mangan cha(y) kakachangyan* 'the rich people eat': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 15) E); plural pronominal reference (sentence 15) (E); lexical repetition (sentence 15) (E).

---

17. Isnan maschem nan chey ay Lifon, mangan chay kakachangyan.
NFM night POSS that LK Lifon eat they,LK rich.person,PL
17. The night of that *Lifon* ritual, the rich eat.

18. //6// Maam-among nan sinpangapo paymo nan sinpangafong
gather FM clan or FM household
yangkhay.
only
18. The whole clan or just the household gather.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2 *maam-among* 'gather': collocation with *mangan* (I), lexical reiteration of root (sentence 14) (E).

3,4,5,6 *nan sinpangapo (paymo) nan sinpangafong* 'the whole clan (or) the household': definite article; inferrable (I); definite article; inferrable (I).

18. Maam-among nan sinpangapo paymo nan sinpangafong yangkhay.
gather FM clan or FM household only
18. The whole clan or just the household gather.

19. //1// Mo akit nan maamong, siya chi nan kananchan,
if few FM gather this that FM say.they,QF
"Sinalikhebkheb".
exclusive
19. If there are only a few who gather, it is called "an exclusive group".

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

Other ties: //3//

1,2 *nan maamong* '(those) who gather': definite article; nominal substitution, the referent in a part-whole relationship to *kakachangyan* (sentence 17) (E), substitute is itself lexical repetition.

3 *(kanan)cha(n)* '(say) they (quote)': plural pronominal co-referent to all not included in *nan maamong* in same sentence.

---

19. Mo akit nan maamong, siya chi nan kananchan, "Sinalikhebkheb".
if few FM gather this that FM say.they,QF exclusive
19. If there are only a few who gather, it is called "an exclusive group".

20. //2// Nan maala, fingiten nan takho.
FM take share FM person
20. The people receive shares of meat.

Cohesive ties:

1,2 *nan takho* 'the people': definite article; general item (E).

Other ties: //4//

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal to sentence 11.

2,3 *nan maala* 'what is taken': nominal substitute, lexical repetition (sentence 11) (E).

4 *fingiten* 'share': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 11) (E).

---

20. Nan maala, fingiten nan takho.
FM take share FM person
20. The people receive shares of meat.

21. //21// Nan fala, siya nan enkwan nan ongang-a ay lalalaki.
FM lungs it FM belong POSS child,PL LK male,PL

21. The lungs belong to the boys.

22. Nan sofod, enkwan nan amam-a.
FM belly belong POSS old.man,PL

22. The stomach skin is for the old men.

23. Nan falong-a paymo ipos, enkwan nan pangolo paymo nan inkhekhed.
FM tail.plus or tail belong POSS leader or POSS divider,PL

23. The tail plus its root, or the tail alone, belongs to the leaders or to the ones who do the butchering.

24. Nan tete ya nan palagpag enkwan nan inasaw-an paymo nan fabfafallo.
FM withers and FM ribs belong POSS just.married or POSS young.man,PL

24. The ridge between the shoulder bones and the ribs are for newly married men or for the young men.

Cohesive ties: 21

1 conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

1,2 *nan fala* 'the lungs': definite article; part-whole relationship (1).

3,4,5 *nan ongang-a (ay) lalalaki* 'the children (who are) male': definite article; part-whole relationship (1); part-whole relationship (1).

Cohesive ties: 22

1,2 *nan sofod* 'the belly': definite article; part-whole relationship (1).

3 *nan amam-a* 'the old men': definite article; part-whole relationship (1).

Cohesive ties: 23

1,2,3 *nan falong-a (paymo) ipos* 'the tail and surrounding meat (or) the tail': definite article; part-whole relationship (1); part-whole relationship (1).

4,5,6,7 *nan pangolo (paymo) nan inkhekhed* 'the leaders or (those) who do the butchering': definite article; part-whole relationship (1); definite article; nominal substitution, part-whole relationship (1).

Cohesive ties: 24

1,2,3,4 *nan tete (ya) nan palagpag* 'the ridge between the shoulder bones (and) the ribs': definite article; part-whole relationship (1); definite article; part-whole relationship (1).

5 *nan inasaw-an (paymo) nan fabfafallo* 'the newly married men or the (youths)': definite article; part-whole relationship (1); definite article; nominal substitution, part-whole relationship (1).

Other ties: 24 //1//

1 *(nan) inkhekhed* '(those who) butcher': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 10) (1).

---

20. Nan maala, fingiten nan takho.
FM take share FM person

20. The people receive shares of meat.

25. //3// Maid infingit isnan fabfafai.
none share NFM woman,PL

25. There is nothing shared among the women.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: dissimilar, comparison, additive, internal.

2 *infingit* 'shared': nominal substitution (I), substitute is lexical reiteration of root.

3 *fabfafai* 'women': part-whole relationship (I).

---

25. Maid infingit isnan fabfafai.
none share NFM woman,PL.

25. There is nothing shared among the women.

26. //0// Mo nachokpos nan Lifon, sachat akhes illokhi nan Soyok.
when finish FM Lifon then.they,PART also begin FM Soyok

26. When the *Lifon* ritual is finished, then they also begin the *Soyok* ritual.

Other ties: //6//

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external to whole of *Lifon* paragraph.

2,3 *nan Lifon* 'the *Lifon* ritual': definite article; superordinate (E).

4 *(sa)cha(t)* '(then) they': plural pronominal reference (sentence 20) (E).

5,6 *nan Soyok* 'the *Soyok* ritual': definite article; lexical repetition (sentence 21) (E).

26. Mo nachokpos nan Lifon, sachat akhes illokhi nan Soyok.
when finish FM Lifon then.they,PART also begin FM Soyok

26. When the *Lifon* ritual is finished, then they also begin the *Soyok* ritual.

27. //2// Soyok.
Soyok

27. The *Soyok* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2 *Soyok* 'the *Soyok* ritual': lexical repetition (E).

Other ties: //1//

1 Conjunction: sequential, internal temporal to setting paragraph (sentence 4).

---

27. Soyok. 28. //4// Nan Soyok kaagna nan Lifon.
Soyok FM Soyok like.it FM Lifon

27. The *Soyok* ritual.
28. The *Soyok* ritual is similar to the *Lifon* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2,3 *nan Soyok* 'the *Soyok* ritual': definite article; lexical repetition (E).

4 *(kaag)na* 'it (is like)': singular pronominal reference (E).

Other ties: //2//

1,2 *nan Lifon* 'the *Lifon* ritual': definite article; lexical repetition (E).

---

28. Nan Soyok kaagna nan Lifon.
FM Soyok like.it FM Lifon

28. The *Soyok* ritual is similar to the *Lifon* ritual.

29. //3// In-ala chas fotog magtek nan Soyok kwan si
get they,NFM pig but FM Soyok belong POSS
katakhotakho.
total.population

29. They butcher pigs, but the *Soyok* ritual is for all the people.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: exemplificatory, apposition, additive, internal.

2,3 *nan Soyok* 'the *Soyok* ritual': definite article; lexical repetition (E).

Other ties: //2//

1,2 *si katakhotakho* 'for all the people': personal possessive; superordinate inferrable (I).

---

29. In-ala chas fotog magtek nan Soyok kwan si
get they,NFM pig but FM Soyok belong POSS
katakhotakho.
total.population

29. They butcher pigs, but the *Soyok* ritual is for all the people.

30. //4// Ad-i kag nan Lifon ay kwan yangkhay si kakachangyan.
not like FM Lifon LK belong only POSS rich.person,PL

30. It is not like the *Lifon* ritual, which is only for the rich.

Cohesive ties:

1 Ellipsis: nominal ellipsis of *Nan Soyok*.

2 *kwan* 'belong to': lexical repetition (E).

3,4 *si kakachangyan* 'for the rich': personal possessive; part-whole relationship to *katakhotakho* (E).

Other ties: //3//

1 Conjunction: dissimilar, comparison, additive, internal to sentence 28.

2,3 *nan Lifon* ' the Lifon ritual; definite article; lexical repetition (sentence 28) (E).

---

30. Ad-i kag nan Lifon ay kwan yangkhay si kakachangyan.
not like FM Lifon LK belong only POSS rich.person,PL

30. It is not like the *Lifon* ritual, which is only for the rich.

31. //0// Matotyacha nan sinpangapo paymo nan sinpangafong mo sino
discuss.they FM clan or FM household if who
ken chaicha nan eg-ay kaala nan walakcha, id tawen.
NFM them FM not bring FM share.their last year

31. The clan or household discuss who among them did not make their contribution last year.

Other ties: //7//

1 *matotya(cha)* '(they) discuss': lexical repetition of sentence 8.

2,3,4,5 *nan sinpangapo (paymo) nan sinpangafong* 'the clan (or) household': definite article; part-whole relationship to *katakhotakho* in sentence 29 (E); definite article; part-whole relationship to *katakhotakho* in sentence 29 (E).

6 *kaala* 'recently brought': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 29) (E).

7 *walak* 'share': near-synonym of *fotog* (sentence 29) (E).

31. Matotyacha nan sinpangapo paymo nan sinpangafong mo sino ken
discuss.they FM clan or FM household if who NFM

chaicha nan eg-ay kaala nan walakcha, id tawen.
them FM not bring FM share.their last year

31. The clan or household discuss who among them did not make their contribution last year.

32. //8// Siya chana nan madpap nan fotogcha idwanin.
this these FM catch FM pig.their now

32. These are the ones to contribute (lit., catch) their pigs this time.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: exemplificatory, exposition, additive, internal.

2,3 *siya chana* 'these': emphasized pronoun; plural demonstrative pronoun (E) determiner (E).

4,5 *nan madpap* 'the ones who will catch': definite article; near-synonym of *ala* (E).

6,7 *nan fotogcha* 'their pigs': definite article; near synonym of *walak* (E); plural possessive (E).

8 *idwanin* 'now': antonym of *id tawen* (I).

---

32. Siya chana nan madpap nan fotogcha idwanin.
this these FM catch FM pig.their now

32. These are the ones to contribute (lit., catch) their pigs this time.

33. //7// Mo nan walak nan esa ay maala ya inmawas et
if FM share POSS one LK take and excessive CONJ

matokachan is fan-ig ay fotog paymo siping.
compensate NFM small LK pig or money

33. If the pig contributed by one person is bigger than his share, the excess of his contribution is replaced by a small pig or money.

Cohesive ties:

1,2 *nan walak* 'the contribution': definite article; near-synonym with *fotog* (E).

3,4,5 *nan esa* 'of one': possessive article; nominal substitution, part-whole relationship (E).

6 *maala* 'to be taken': near-synonym of *madpap* (E).

7 *fotog* 'pig': lexical repetition (E).

Other ties: //1//

1 Conjunction: emphatic, adversative, external to sentence 31.

---

33. Mo nan walak nan esa ay maala ya inmawas et matokachan
if FM share POSS one LK take and excessive CONJ compensate

is fan-ig ay fotog paymo siping.
NFM small LK pig or money

33. If the pig contributed by one person is bigger than his share, the excess of his contribution is replaced by a small pig or money.

34. //9// Makhekhed nan nay chay fotog isnan afob-ong nan
divide FM this they,LK pig NFM house,PL POSS

cheychay madpap nan fotogcha.
those,LK catch FM pig.their

34. These pigs are butchered at the houses of their owners.

Cohesive ties:

1,2,3 *nan nay cha(y) fotog* 'these pigs': definite article; plural demonstrative pronoun; near-synonym of *walak* (E), non-coreferent with *fotog*.

4,5 *nan cheycha* 'those': definite article; determiner; plural demonstrative pronoun (E).

6 *madpap* 'catch': near-synonym of *maala* (E).

7,8,9 *nan fotogcha* 'their pigs': definite article; near-synonym of *walak* (E), non-coreferent with *fotog*; plural possessive (E).

Other ties: //2//

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external.

2 *makhekhed* 'divided': lexical reiteration of root of sentence 10.

---

34. Makhekhed nan nay chay fotog isnan afob-ong nan cheychay
divide FM this they,LK pig NFM house,PL POSS those,LK

madpap nan fotogcha.
catch FM pig.their

34. These pigs are butchered at the houses of their owners.

35. //5// Sachat eyey isnan afong ay maamongancha isnan
then.they,PART take NFM house LK gathering.place.their NFM

maschem.
night

35. Then they take it to the house where they will gather at night.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external *(Sa-et)*.

2,3 *(sa)cha(t) (eyey) O* '(then) they (take)' O (ellipsis of focussed noun phrase): plural pronominal reference (E).

4 *afong* 'house': non-coreferent lexical repetition (U).

5 *(maamongan)cha* 'their (place of gathering)': plural possessive, whole-part relationship (E).

Other ties //1//

1 *maamongan(cha)* '(their) place of gathering': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 18) (E).

---

35. Sachat eyey isnan afong ay maamongancha isnan
then.they,PART take NFM house LK gathering.place.their NFM

maschem.
night

35. Then they take it to the house where they will gather at night.

36. //7// Isnan chey ay maschem si Soyok, mangan nan maam-among
NFM that LK night POSS Soyok eat FM gather

ay sinpangapo paymo sinpangafong.
LK clan or household

36. That night of the *Soyok* ritual, the clan or household who are gathered eat together.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: summarizing, temporal, internal (time phrase).

2 *chey (ay) maschem* 'that night': demonstrative pronoun; lexical repetition (E).

3,4 *si Soyok* 'of the *Soyok* ritual': possessive article; superordinate (E).

5 *mangan* 'eat': collocation with *maamong* (I).

6,7 *nan maam-among* '(those) who are gathered': definite article; is lexical reiteration of root (E).

Other ties: //2//

1,2 *sinpangapo (paymo) sinpangafong* 'clan or household': lexical repetition (sentence 31) (E); lexical repetition (sentence 31) (E).

---

36. Isnan chey ay maschem si Soyok, mangan nan maam-among ay
NFM that LK night POSS Soyok eat FM gather LK

sinpangapo paymo sinpangafong.
clan or household

36. That night of the *Soyok* ritual, the clan or household who are gathered eat together.

37. //2// Maoto nan poto, chala, atey ya nan tap-in nan kopkop
cook FM intestines blood liver and FM other POSS skin

ya nan fekhas.
and POSS flesh

37. What is cooked is the intestines, the blood, the liver, and some parts of the skin and the flesh.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2 *maoto* 'is cooked': collocation with *mangan* (I).

Other ties: //9//

1,2,3,4 *nan poto, chala, atey* 'the intestines, blood, liver': definite article; each is in part-whole relationship to *fotog* (sentence 34) (I).

5,6,7 *nan (tap-i)n nan kopkop* '(some) of the skin': definite article; possessive article; part-whole relationship to *fotog* (sentence 34) (I).

8,9 *(ya) nan fekhas* '(and) the flesh': possessive article; part-whole relationship to *fotog* (sentence 34) (I).

37. Maoto nan poto, chala, atey ya nan tap-in nan kopkop ya
cook FM intestines blood liver and FM other POSS skin and

nan fekhas.
POSS flesh

37. What is cooked is the intestines, the blood, the liver, and some parts of the skin and the flesh.

38. //4// Isnan timpo ay cha maoto nan watwat, mangay-ayyeng nan
NFM time LK CONT cook FM meat sing.ayyeng FM

amam-a.
old.man,PL

38. While the meat is cooking, the old men sing the *ayyeng* song.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: durative, complex, temporal, external.

2,3,4 *maoto nan watwat* 'the meat is cooking': lexical repetition (E); definite article; superordinate to *poto, chala, atey, kopkop*, and *fekhas* (E).

Other ties: //1//

1 *amam-a* 'old men': part-whole relationship to *sinpangapo* or *sinpangafong* in sentence 31 (I).

---

38. Isnan timpo ay cha maoto nan watwat, mangay-ayyeng nan
NFM time LK CONT cook FM meat sing.ayyeng FM
amam-a.
old.man,PL

38. While the meat is cooking, the old men sing the *ayyeng* song.

39. //3// Mo mangancha tomke nan ayyeng.
when eat.they stop FM ayyeng

39. When they eat, they stop singing the *ayyeng* song.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external (time clause).

2,3 *nan ayyeng* 'the *ayyeng* song': definite article; lexical reiteration of root (E).

Other ties: //2//

1,2 *mangancha* 'they eat': lexical repetition (sentence 36); plural pronominal reference, co-referent to *sinpangapo* or *sinpangafong* (sentence 36) (E).

---

39. Mo mangancha tomke nan ayyeng.
when eat.they stop FM ayyeng

39. When they eat, they stop singing the *ayyeng* song.

40. //3// Miwatwat nan sibfancha yangkhay.
share FM viand.their only

40. Only meat to be eaten is distributed.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external.

2,3 *nan sibfancha* 'their viand': definite article; collocation with *mangan* (I); plural possessive co-referent with *-cha* (E).

Other ties: //1//

1 *miwatwat* 'shared': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 38) (E).

---

40. Miwatwat nan sibfancha yangkhay
share FM viand.their only

40. Only meat to be eaten is distributed.

41. //7// Magtek wad-ay nan kasin maiwalas ay naoto ay pasing isnan
but there.is FM again share LK cook LK share NFM
malpasanchay manganan.
finish.time.their,LK eating.time

41. But there is also a distribution of cooked pieces, after they have finished eating.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: emphatic, adversative, internal.

2,3 *nan (kasin) maiwalas* '(also) the shared': definite article; near-synonym to *miwatwat* (I).

4,5 *naoto (ay) pasing* 'cooked share': collocation with *sibfan* (I), lexical reiteration of root (sentence 38) (I), lexical reiteration of root (sentence 38) (E); collocation with *miwatwat* (I).

6,7 *(isnan malpasan)cha(y) manganan* '(when) they (have finished) eating': plural pronominal reference (E); collocation with *sibfan* (I), lexical reiteration of root (sentence 39) (E).

---

41. Magtek wad-ay nan kasin maiwalas ay naoto ay pasing isnan
but there.is FM again share LK cook LK share NFM

malpasanchay manganan.
finish.time.their,LK eating.time

41. But there is also a distribution of cooked pieces, after they have finished eating.

42. //4// Teken akhes nan kasin maiwalas ay inlangta ay pasing.
different also FM again share LK raw LK share

42. There is also a different distribution of raw pieces.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: additive, complex, additive, internal.

2 *maiwalas* 'shared': lexical repetition (E).

3,4 *inlangta (ay) pasing* 'raw share': antonym of *naoto* (I); lexical repetition, but non-coreferent (I).

---

42. Teken akhes nan kasin maiwalas ay inlangta ay pasing.
different also FM again share LK raw LK share

42. There is also a different distribution of raw pieces.

43. //4// Nan kafifilang nan afob-ong ay maamong, siya akhes nan
FM tally POSS house,PL LK gather that also FM

filang nan pasing ay inlangta.
count POSS share LK raw

43. The number of raw pieces to be distributed, is according to the number of households gathered.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: additive, complex, additive, internal.

2,3,4 *nan pasing (ay) inlangta* 'the raw shares': definite particle; lexical repetition (E); lexical repetition (E).

Other ties: //3//

1,2,3 *nan afob-ong (ay) maamong* 'the households (who are) gathered': definite article; collocates with *sinpangapo* (sentence 36) (I), lexical repetition of root (sentence 36) (E); lexical reiteration of root (sentence 36) (E).

---

43. Nan kafifilang nan afob-ong ay maamong, siya akhes nan filang
FM tally POSS house,PL LK gather that also FM count

nan pasing ay inlangta.
POSS share LK raw

43. The number of raw pieces to be distributed, is according to the number of household gathered.

44. //0// Mo machokpos nan takho nan Soyok et
when finish FM person FM Soyok CONJ

kawaksana et Mangmang.
tomorrow.time.its PART Mangmang

44. When the people have finished the *Soyok* ritual, the *Mangmang* ritual is held the next day.

Other ties: //6//

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external to whole of *Soyok* paragraph.

2,3 *nan takho* 'the people': definite article; lexical reiteration of root (sentence 29) (E).

4,5 *nan Soyok* 'the *Soyok* ritual': definite article; lexical repetition (sentence 29) (E).

6 *Mangmang* 'the *Mangmang* ritual': lexical repetition (sentence 4) (E).

---

44. Mo machokpos nan takho nan Soyok et kawaksana
when finish FM person FM Soyok CONJ tomorrow.time.its

*et Mangmang. 45. //2// **Mangmang**.*
PART Mangmang Mangmang

44. When the people have finished the *Soyok ritual*, the *Mangmang* ritual is held the next day. 45. The *Mangmang* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2 *Mangmang* 'the *Mangmang* ritual': lexical repetition (E).

Other ties: //1//

1 Conjunction: sequential, internal temporal to setting paragraph (sentence 4).

---

*45. **Mangmang**. 46. //1// Waschin infaig nan takho isnan manok.*
Mangmang each beat FM person NFM chicken

45. The *Mangmang* ritual. 46. Each household kills a chicken.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

Other ties: //2//

1,2 *nan takho* 'the people': definite article; lexical repetition (sentence 44) (E).

---

46. Waschin infaig nan takho isnan manok.
each beat FM person NFM chicken

46. Each household kills a chicken.

47. //1// San cheychay naala paymo nakhekhed nan fotogcha issan Lifon
FM those,LK take or divide FM pig.their NFM Lifon

paymo issan Soyok et itkemcha kannay san olon san nailifon
or NFM Soyok CONJ add.they immediately FM head POSS for.Lifon

paymo naisoyok ay fotogcha.
or for.Soyok LK pig.their

47. Those who butchered their pigs for the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, cook the head of their *Lifon* pig or *Soyok* pig together with the chicken.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: simultaneous, simple, temporal, external.

Other ties: //20//

1,2,3 *san cheycha(y)* 'those': anaphoric definite article; plural demonstrative pronoun: (sentences 10 or 32) (E); nominal ellipsis, demonstrative pronoun as head.

4,5 *naala (paymo) nakhekhed* 'took (or) divided': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 33) (E); lexical repetition (sentence 34) (E).

6,7,8 *nan fotogcha* 'their pigs': definite article; lexical repetition (sentences 20 or 32) (E); plural pronominal reference, co-referent to *nan ninkwa* in sentence 10 or *-cha* in sentence 32.

9,10 *issan Lifon* 'for the *Lifon* ritual': anaphoric nonfocussed article; lexical repetition (sentence 10) (E).

11,12 *issan Soyok* 'for the *Soyok* ritual': anaphoric nonfocussed article; lexical repetition (sentence 32) (E).

13 *(itkem)cha* 'they (add)': plural pronominal reference (sentences 8 or 32) (E).

14,15,16,17 *san olon san nailifon* 'the head of their *Lifon* pig': anaphoric definite article; lexical repetition (sentence 13) (E), or part-whole relationship to *fotog* (sentence 34): (I); anaphoric possessive; lexical reiteration of root (sentence 10) (E).

18,19,20 *naisoyok (ay) fotogcha* 'their pig (killed) for the *Soyok* ritual': near-synonym with *nakhedkhed* (sentence 34) (E); lexical repetition (sentences 10 or 34); plural pronominal reference (sentences 10 or 32).

---

47. San cheychay naala paymo nakhekhed nan fotogcha issan Lifon
FM those,LK take or divide FM pig.their NFM Lifon
paymo issan Soyok et itkemcha kannay san olon san nailifon
or NFM Soyok CONJ add.they immediately FM head POSS for.Lifon
paymo naisoyok ay fotogcha.
or for.Soyok LK pig.their

47. Those who butchered their pigs for the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, cook the head of their *Lifon* pig or *Soyok* pig together with the chicken.

48. //10// Nan tapina itkemcha san pasingcha paymo san
FM other.its add.they FM share.their or FM
finingitcha issan Soyok.
distribution.their NFM Soyok

48. The others add their (uncooked) share or their distributed share from the *Soyok* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: similar, comparison, additive, internal.

2,3,4 *nan tapina* 'the others': definite article; nominal substitution; singular pronominal reference in co-membership relationship with *-cha* (E).

5,6 *itkemcha* 'they add': lexical repetition (E); plural pronominal reference in co-membership relationship with *-cha* (E).

7 *(san pasing)cha* 'their (share)': plural pronominal reference in co-membership relationship with *-cha* (E).

8,9,10 *(san finingit)cha issan Soyok* 'their (distributed) share from the *Soyok* ritual': plural pronominal reference in co-membership relationship with *-cha* (E); anaphoric nonfocussed article; lexical repetition (E).

Other ties: //4//

1,2,3,4 *san pasing(cha paymo) san finingit(cha)* '(their) share (or their) distributed portion': anaphoric definite article; lexical repetition (sentence 41) (E); anaphoric definite article; near-synonym with *maiwalas* (sentence 42) (E).

---

48. Nan tapina itkemcha san pasingcha paymo san finingitcha
FM other.its add.they FM share.their or FM distribution.their
issan Soyok.
NFM Soyok

48. The others add their (uncooked) share or their distributed share from the *Soyok* ritual.

49. //10// Isnan kawaksana Apey.
NFM tomorrow.time.its Apey

49. The next day is the *Apey* ritual.

Other ties: //2//

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external to whole *Mangmang* paragraph.

2 *Apey* 'the *Apey* ritual': lexical repetition (sentence 4) (E).

---

49. Isnan kawaksana Apey. 50. //2// Apey.
NFM tomorrow.time.its Apey Apey

49. The next day is the *Apey* ritual. 50. The *Apey* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2 *Apey* 'the *Apey* ritual': lexical repetition (E).

Other ties: //1//

1 Conjunction: sequential, internal temporal to setting paragraph (sentence 4).

---

50. Apey. 51. //2// Omala cha issan inasinancha ay pasingcha paymo
Apey get they NFM salt.their LK share.their or

finingitcha issan Lifon paymo issan Soyok is iyapeycha.
distribute.their NFM Lifon or NFM Soyok NFM do.Apey.they

50. The *Apey* ritual.
51. They get their (uncooked) share that they have salted or their distributed share from the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, to do the *Apey* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2 *iyapey(cha)* 'to kill for (their) *Apey* ritual': lexical reiteration of root (E).

Other ties: //12//

1,2,3,4,5 *(omala) cha...(inasinan)(cha) (ay) pasing(cha)* 'they get some of their (salted) share': plural pronominal reference co-referent to *takho* (sentence 46) (E); anaphoric nonfocussed article; plural pronominal reference, co-referent to *takho* (sentence 46) (E); lexical repetition (sentence 42) (E); plural pronominal reference (sentence 46) (E).

6,7,8,9 *finingitcha issan Lifon* 'their distributed share from the *Lifon* ritual': lexical reiteration of root (sentences 20-24, or 42) (E); plural pronominal repetition (sentence 47) (E).

10,11,12 *issan Soyok (is iyapey)cha* 'the *Soyok* ritual to kill for the *Apey* ritual': anaphoric nonfocussed article; lexical repetition (sentence 48) (E); plural pronominal reference (sentence 46) (E).

---

51. Omala cha issan inasinancha ay pasingcha paymo finingitcha
get they NFM salt.their LK share.their or distribute.their

issan Lifon paymo issan Soyok is iyapeycha.
NFM Lifon or NFM Soyok NFM do.Apey.they

51. They get their (uncooked) share that they have salted or their distributed share from the *Lifon* or *Soyok* rituals, to do the *Apey* ritual.

52. //5// Omala cha akhes is tapey paymo fayyas si
get they also NFM rice.wine or sugarcane.wine FM

seng-ewcha ay mangapey.
spit.they LK do.Apey

52. They also get rice wine or sugarcane wine to spit out as part of the *Apey* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: simultaneous, simple, temporal, external.

2,3 *omala cha* 'they get': lexical repetition (E); plural pronominal reference (E).

4 *(seng-ew)cha* '(spit) they': plural pronominal reference. (E).

5 *mangapey* 'to do the *Apey* ritual': lexical reiteration of root (E).

52. Omala cha akhes is tapey paymo fayyas si
get they also NFM rice.wine or sugarcane.wine FM

seng-ewcha ay mangapey.
spit.they LK do.Apey

52. They also get rice wine or sugarcane wine to spit out as part of the *Apey* ritual.

53. //9// Mo omey cha iska payewcha ay mangapey chentancha
when go they LOC rice.field.their LK do.Apey kindle.they

nan iyapeycha.
FM for.Apey.their

53. When they go to their rice fields to do the *Apey* ritual, they kindle fire to cook the meat for the *Apey* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external.

2,3,4 *(omey) cha (iska payew)cha (ay) mangapey* 'they (go to) their (rice fields) to do the *Apey* ritual': plural pronominal reference (E); plural possessive (E); lexical reiteration of root.

---

53. Mo omey cha iska payewcha ay mangapey chentancha nan
when go they LOC rice.field.their LK do.Apey kindle.they FM

iyapeycha.
for.Apey.their

53. When they go to their rice fields to do the *Apey* ritual, they kindle fire to cook the meat for the *Apey* ritual.

54a. //7// Sachat alan nan paloki ya togpopancha isnan
then.they,PART get FM paloki and spit.they NFM

tapey ay mangwanin,
rice.wine LK say,QF

54a. Then they get a *paloki* plant and spit rice wine onto it, saying,

54b. "Togpopak sik-a ay paloki ta mapigpikhipig nan pakhey,
spit.I you LK paloki so.that tall.and.straight FM rice

ta maikaskasiw isnan otot, faniyas, tilin ya isnan am-in ay
so.that free NFM rat lizard rice.bird and NFM all LK

mamakawas isnan payew ya isnan pakhey."
destroy NFM rice.field and NFM rice

54b. "I spit on you, *paloki*, so that the rice plants will grow tall, so that they will be free from rats, lizards, rice birds, and all that destroy the fields and the rice plants."

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external (*sa-et*).

2 *(sa)cha(t alan)* '(then) they (get)': plural pronominal reference (E).

3 *(togpopan)cha* 'they (spit)': plural pronominal reference (E).

4,5 *nan pakhey* 'the rice': definite article; collocation with *payew* (I).

6,7 *payew (ya isnan) pakhey* 'rice field (and the) rice': lexical repetition (E); collocation with *payew* (I).

Other ties: *//7//*

1,2,3 *alan nan paloki* 'get the *paloki* plant': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 52) (E); definite article; inferrable from discourse topic (I).

4,5 *togpopan(cha isnan) tapey* 'spit (they some) rice wine': synonym with *seng-ew* (E); lexical repetition (sentence 52) (E).

6,7 *togpopa(k sik-a ay) paloki* '(I) spit on (you), *paloki*': synonym with *seng-ew* (E); inferrable (I).

54a. Sachat alan nan paloki ya togpopancha isnan tapey
then.they,PART get FM paloki and spit.they NFM rice.wine

ay mangwanin,
LK say,QF

54a. Then they get a *paloki* plant and spit rice wine onto it, saying,

54b. "Togpopak sik-a ay paloki ta mapigpikhipig nan pakhey,
spit.I you LK paloki so.that tall.and.straight FM rice

ta maikaskasiw isnan otot, faniyas, tilin ya isnan am-in ay
so.that free NFM rat lizard rice.bird and NFM all LK

mamakawas isnan payew ya isnan pakhey."
destroy NFM rice.field and NFM rice

54b. "I spit on you, *paloki*, so that the rice plants will grow tall, so that they will be free from rats, lizards, rice birds, and all that destroy the fields and the rice plants."

55. //7// Sachat isokfit nan paloki iska toping paymo
then.they,PART insert FM paloki LOC rock.wall or

sipitencha isnan lolo, sachat ipadsek isnan kapayew.
wedge.they NFM stick then.they,PART embed NFM LOC,rice.field

55. Then they insert the *paloki* between the stones of the rock wall or wedge it into a split stick and embed it in the rice field.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external (*sa-et*).

2,3,4 *(sa)cha(t) isokfit nan paloki* '(then) they (insert) the *paloki* plant': plural pronominal reference (E); definite article; lexical repetition (E).

5 *toping* 'the rock wall': collocation with *payew* (I).

6 *(sipiten)cha* 'they (wedge)': plural pronominal reference (E).

7 *(sa)cha(t ipadsek isnan) kapayew* '(then) they (embed it in the) rice field': plural pronominal reference (E); lexical reiteration of root (E).

---

55. Sachat isokfit nan paloki iska toping paymo sipitencha
then.they,PART insert FM paloki LOC rock.wall or wedge.they

isnan lolo, sachat ipadsek isnan kapayew.
NFM stick then.they,PART embed NFM LOC,rice.field

55. Then they insert the *paloki* between the stones of the rock wall or wedge it into a split stick and embed it in the rice field.

56. //3// Kelnatencha yangkhay nan inasin ay iyapeycha.
warm.they only FM salted.meat LK do.Apey.they

56. They just heat the salted meat which they use for the *Apey* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: durative, complex, temporal, external.

2 *(kelnaten)cha* 'they (warm)': plural pronominal reference (E).

3 *(iyapey)cha* 'they (do the *Apey* ritual)': plural pronominal reference (E).

Other ties: //3//

1,2 *nan inasin* 'the salted meat': definite article; lexical reiteration of root (sentence 51) (E).

3 *iyapey(cha)* '(they) do the *Apey* ritual': lexical repetition (sentence 53) (E).

---

56. Kelnatencha yangkhay nan inasin ay iyapeycha.
warm.they only FM salted.meat LK do.Apey.they

56. They just heat the salted meat which they use for the *Apey* ritual.

57. //4// Iyat-atoncha na isnan kapayepayewcha.
transfer.they it NFM LOC,rice.field,PL,their

57. They transfer it to each of their fields, doing the same thing.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external.

2,3,4 *(iyat-aton)cha na (isnan kapyepayew)cha* 'they (transfer) it (from) their (rice field to rice field)': plural pronominal reference (E); singular pronominal reference (E); plural possessive (E).

Other ties: //1//

1 *(isnan) kapayepayew(cha)* '(from their) rice field to rice field': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 55) (E).

---

57. Iyat-atoncha na isnan kapayepayewcha.
transfer.they it NFM LOC,rice.field,PL,their

57. They transfer it to each of their fields, doing the same thing.

58. //7// Isnan esay payew esay paloki nan isokfitcha iska
NFM one,LK rice.field one,LK paloki FM insert.they LOC

topingna paymo sipitencha isnan lolo sachat ipadsek.
rock.wall.its or wedge.they NFM stick then.they,PART embed

58. In each rice field they insert one stem of *paloki* between the stones of the rock wall, or wedge it into a (split) stick and embed it in the rice field.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2 *payew* 'rice field': lexical reiteration of root (E).

3,4,5 *(isokfit)cha (iska) topingna* 'they (insert into) its rock wall': plural pronominal reference (E); collocation with *payew*, lexical repetition from sentence 55; singular possessive (E).

6,7 *(sipiten)cha (isnan lolo sa)cha(t ipadsek)* 'they wedge into a stick then they embed': plural pronominal reference (E); plural pronominal reference (E).

Other ties: //6//

1,2,3 *(esay) paloki nan isokfit(cha)* 'they insert one *paloki* plant': lexical repetition (sentence 55) (E); definite article; lexical repetition (sentence 55) (E).

4,5,6 *sipiten(cha isnan) lolo (sachat) ipadsek* 'they wedge it into a split stick, then they embed': lexical repetition (sentence 55) (E); lexical repetition (sentence 55) (E); lexical repetition (sentence 55) (E).

---

58. Isnan esay payew esay paloki nan isokfitcha iska
NFM one,LK rice.field one,LK paloki FM insert.they LOC

topingna paymo sipitencha isnan lolo sachat ipadsek.
rock.wall.its or wedge.they NFM stick then.they,PART embed

58. In each rice field they insert one stem of *paloki* between the stones of the rock wall, or wedge it into a (split) stick and embed it in the rice field.

59. //7// Mo sinpoo nan payewna et sinpoo akhes ay paloki nan
if ten FM rice.field.his PART ten also LK paloki FM

maosal.
use

59. If he has ten rice fields, he also uses ten *paloki*.

Cohesive ties:

1	Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.
2,3,4	*nan payewna* 'his rice field': definite article; lexical repetition (E); singular pronominal reference, one member of class in previous sentences.
5	*paloki* '*paloki* plants': lexical repetition (E).
6,7	*nan maosal* 'are what is used': definite article; verbal substitute for actions of sentence (58) (E).

---

59. Mo sinpoo nan payewna et sinpoo akhes ay paloki nan
if ten FM rice.field.his PART ten also LK paloki FM

maosal.
use

59. If he has ten rice fields, he also uses ten *paloki*.

60. //4// Mo eb-eb nan payew ay apeyancha et iyapeycha
if spring FM rice.field LK do.Apey.they CONJ do.Apey.they

nan manok.
FM chicken

60. If the rice field for which they are doing the *Apey* ritual has its own spring, they use a chicken for the ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1,2	*nan payew* 'the rice field': definite article; lexical repetition (E).
3	*(apeyan)cha* 'they (do the *Apey* ritual)': plural pronominal reference, class-member relationship to *-na* in sentence 59 (E).
4	*(iyapey)cha* 'they (kill for the *Apey* ritual)': plural pronominal reference, class-member relationship to *-na* in sentence 59 (E).

Other ties: //5//

1	Conjunction: emphatic, contrastive, adversative, external, in contrast to sentence 51.
2,3,4,5	*apeyan(cha et) iyapey(cha) nan manok* '(they) do the *Apey* ritual for, (they) kill the chicken': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 56) (E); definite article; inferrable as appropriate animal for sacrificial purposes (I).

---

60. Mo eb-eb nan payew ay apeyancha et iyapeycha nan
if spring FM rice.field LK do.Apey.they CONJ do.Apey.they FM

manok.
chicken

60. If the rice field for which they are doing the *Apey* ritual has its own spring, they use a chicken for the ritual.

61. //10// Faikhencha sachat lakhiman ya sepwaken nan
beat.they then.they,PART burn and section FM

manok.
chicken

61. They kill the chicken, then burn the feathers and butcher it.

Cohesive ties:

1	Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.
2,3,4	*faikhencha O* 'they beat' O (ellipsis of focussed noun phrase): collocation with *iyapey* in part-whole relationship (E); plural pronominal reference (E).
5,6,7	*(sa)cha(t) lakhiman O* '(then) they burn (its feathers)' O (ellipsis of focussed noun phrase (E)): plural pronominal reference (E); collocation with *iyapey* in part-whole relationship (E).

8,9,10 *(ya) sepwaken nan manok* '(and) section the chicken': collocation with *iyapey* in part-whole relationship (E); definite article; lexical repetition (E).

61. Faikhencha sachat lakhiman ya sepwaken nan manok.
beat.they then.they,PART burn and section FM chicken

61. They kill the chicken, then burn the feathers and butcher it.

62. //10// Otowencha, magtek kecheng nan fitli ya nan patona
cook.they but only FM gizzard and FM intestine.its
nan sibfancha id ilit.
FM viand.their at outside

62. They cook it, but it is only the gizzard and its intestines that they eat outside the village.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external.

2,3,4 *otowencha O* 'they cook' O (ellipsis of focussed noun phrase (E)): collocation with *faikhen, lakhiman* and *sepwaken* as constituent parts of *iyapey* (E); plural pronominal reference (E).

5,6 *nan fitli* 'the gizzard': definite article; collocates with *manok* in part-whole relationship (E); singular pronominal reference, antecedent *manok* (E).

10 *(nan sibfan)cha* 'their (viand)': plural pronominal reference (E).

Other ties: //2//

1,2 *nan sibfan(cha)* '(their) viand': definite article; inferrable from sentence 56 (i).

---

62. Otowencha, magtek kecheng nan fitli ya nan potona nan
cook.they but only FM gizzard and FM intestine.its FM
sibfancha id ilit.
viand.their at outside

62. They cook it, but it is only the gizzard and its intestines that they eat outside the village.

63. //8// Mo kinonfoscha ay nangapey isnan kapayepayewcha,
if finish.they LK do.Apey NFM LOC,rice.field,PL,their
isaacha nan inyapeycha isnan afong ay manganancha.
go.home.they FM do.Apey.they NFM house LK eating.time.their

63. When they have finished the *Apey* ritual in the rice fields, they bring home the meat used in the ritual to the house where they will eat.

Cohesive ties:

(Note: In this sentence 63 we have five homophonous plural pronominal items with at least two antecedents: antecedent A those who do the *Apey* ritual in the field, B rice field owners, and C those who eat. Of these C is the most inclusive, A the least inclusive. C is co-referent with *sinpangapo* or *sinpangafong* in sentence 36.)

1 *(kinonfos)cha* 'they (have finished)': plural pronominal reference -A (E).

2 *(kapayepayew)cha* 'their rice fields': plural possessive -B (E)

3 *(isaa)cha* 'they (take home)': plural pronominal reference -A (E).

4,5,6 *nan inyapeycha* '(what) they (used for the *Apey* ritual)': definite article; nominal substitution (E); plural pronominal reference -A (E).

7,8 *manganancha* 'their (place of eating)': collocation with *sibfan;* plural possessive -C (E).

Other ties: //3//

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external (time clause).

1 *nangapey* 'do the *Apey* ritual': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 60) (E).

2 *kapayepayew(cha)* '(their) rice fields': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 60) (E).

3 *nan inyapey(cha)* 'what (they) used for the *Apey* ritual': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 60) (E).

---

63. Mo kinonfoscha ay nangapey isnan kapayepayewcha,
if finish.they LK do.Apey NFM LOC,rice.field,PL,their

isaacha nan inyapeycha isnan afong ay manganancha.
go.home.they FM do.Apey.they NFM house LK eating.time.their

63. When they have finished the *Apey* ritual in the rice fields, they bring home the meat used in the ritual to the house where they will eat.

64. //4// Isnan maschem milokhi nan am-among isnan Apey.
NFM night begin FM gathering NFM Apey

64. At night the gathering for the *Apey* ritual begins.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external (time phrase).

2,3,4 *nan am-among (isnan) Apey* 'the gathering (for the) *Apey* rituals': definite article; near-synonym with *mangan* (E); lexical reiteration of root (E).

---

64. Isnan maschem milokhi nan am-among isnan Apey.
NFM night begin FM gathering NFM Apey

64. At night the gathering for the *Apey* ritual begins.

65. //4// Tolo et nan am-among isnan Innana.
three PART FM gathering NFM Innana

65. There are three gatherings for the *Innana* rituals.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2,3,4 *nan am-among (isnan) Innana* 'the gatherings (for the) *Innana* rituals': definite article; lexical repetition (E); super ordinate of *Apey* (E), lexical repetition (sentence 5) (E).

---

65. Tolo et nan am-among isnan Innana.
three PART FM gathering NFM Innana

65. There are three gatherings for the *Innana* rituals.

66. //10// Am-among isnan Lifon ay kwan si kakachangyan.
gathering NFM Lifon LK belong POSS rich.person,PL

66. The gathering for the *Lifon* ritual is for the rich.

67. Am-among isnan Soyok ya am-among isnan Apey.
gathering NFM Soyok and gathering NFM Apey

67. The gathering for the *Soyok* ritual and the *Apey* ritual (are the other two).

Cohesive tie 66:

1 Conjunction: exemplificatory, apposition, additive, internal.

1,2,3 *am-among (isnan) Lifon) O* 'the gathering (for the) *Lifon* ritual' O (ellipsis of focussed noun phrase): Lexical repetition (E); specific-generic to *Innana* (E).

Cohesive tie 67:

1,2,3 *am-among (isnan) Soyok O* 'the gathering (for the) *Soyok* ritual' O (ellipsis of focussed noun phrase): lexical repetition (E); specific-generic to *Innana* (E).

4,5,6 *am-among (isnan) Apey O* 'the gathering (for the) *Apey* ritual' O (ellipsis of focussed noun phrase): lexical repetition (E); specific-generic to *Innana* (E).

Other ties: //2//

1,2 *(kwan) si kakachangyan* '(belongs) to the rich people': definite personal possessive article; lexical repetition (sentence 30) (E).

---

65. Tolo et nan am-among isnan Innana.
three PART FM gathering NFM Innana

65. There are three gatherings for the *Innana* rituals.

68. //0// Isnan kawaksana encha mangachiw.
NFM tomorrow.time.its go.they catch.fish

68. On the morrow they go to catch fish.

Other ties: //2//

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal external (time phrase).

2 *(en)cha (mangachiw)* 'they (go to catch fish)': plural pronominal reference, partially co-referent with *cha* in sentence 63 (E).

---

68. Isnan kawaksana encha mangachiw.
NFM tomorrow.time.its go.they catch.fish

68. On the morrow they go to catch fish.

69. //10// Isnan chey ay akhew igkhiyakhancha nan aliwidcha
NFM that LK day carry.plate.they FM relative.in.law.their

ya nan katokhangancha isnan Fontok ya id Samoki.
and FM parent.in.law.their NFM Bontoc and at Samoki

69. On that day they take a plate of food to the parents of their children-in-law and to their parents-in-law who live in Bontoc and Samoki.

Cohesive ties:

(Note: In sentence 69 we have three homophonous plural pronominal items each of which has a different antecedent: antecedent A those who carry plates, B perhaps the whole clan or family, C those who have parents-in-law. B is more inclusive than either A or C.)

1 Conjunction: simultaneous, simple, temporal, external (time phrase).

2,3 *chey (ay) akhew* 'that day': demonstrative pronoun; collocates with *kawaksana* (E).

4 *(igkhiyakhan)cha* 'they (carry a plate of food)': plural pronominal reference, co-membership relationship with *-cha* in sentence 68 - A (E).

5,6,7 *nan aliwid(cha)* 'their relatives-in-law': definite article; inferrable (I); plural possessive, generic-specific to *-cha* in sentence 68 - B (E).

8,9,10 *nan katokhangan(cha)* 'their parents-in-law': definite article inferrable (I); plural possessive, co-membership relationship with *-cha* in sentence 68 - C (E).

Other ties:

1,2 *Fontok (ya id) Samoki* 'Bontoc and Samoki': lexical repetition (sentence 2) (E).

---

69. Isnan chey ay akhew igkhiyakhancha nan aliwidcha ya
NFM that LK day carry.plate.they FM relative.in.law.their and

nan katokhangancha isnan Fontok ya id Samoki.
FM parent.in.law.their NFM Bontoc and at Samoki

69. On that day they take a plate of food to the parents of their children-in-law and to their parents-in-law who live in Bontoc and Samoki.

70. //9// Isnan pidwan si kachiw igkhiyakhancha nan alilwidcha
NFM second NFM fish carry.plate.they FM relative.their

paymo katokhangancha isnan kafakhaang.
or parent.in.law.their NFM village

70. On the second day of catching fish, they take a plate of food to their relatives or parents-in-law in the villages.

Cohesive ties:

(Note: In sentence 70 we have three homophonous plural pronominal items each of which has a different antecedent: A those who carry plates, B perhaps the whole clan or family, C those who have parents-in-law. B is more inclúsive than either A or C. But A, B, and C are not identical to A, B, and C in sentence 69.)

1	Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external (time phrase).
2	*(isnan) pidwan* '(on the) second': ordinal numerative (E).
3,4	*igkhiyakhancha* 'they carry a plate of food': lexical repetition (E); plural pronominal reference, specific-generic to B in sentence 59 -A (E).
5,6,7	*nan alilwidcha* 'their relatives': definite article; lexical repetition, but now co-referential, inferrable (I); plural possessive, almost co-referential, with B in sentence 69 -B (E).
8, 9	*katokhangancha* 'their parents-in-law': lexical repetition, but not co-referential inferrable (I); plural possessive, co-membership relationship with C in sentence 69 - C (E).

Other ties: //3//

1,2	*si kachiw* 'of (the) fishing': singular possessive; lexical reiteration of root (sentence 68) (E).
3	*kafakhaang* 'villages': lexical repetition (sentence 2) (E).

---

70. Isnan pidwan si kachiw igkhiyakhancha nan alilwidcha paymo
NFM second NFM fish carry.plate.they FM relative.their or

katokhangancha isnan kafakhaang.
parent.in.law.their NFM village

70. On the second day of catching fish, they take a plate of food to their relatives or parents-in-law in the villages.

71. //2// Mawakas kasin Patay ya Tengaw.
morrow again Patay and Tengaw

71. On the next day again are the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals.

Cohesive ties:

1	Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external (time phrase).
2	*mawakas* 'on the morrow': collocates with elided nominal. (I).

Other ties: //2//

1,2	*Patay (ya) Tengaw* '*Patay* ritual and the *Tengaw* ritual': lexical repetition (sentence 4) (E); lexical repetition (sentence 4) (E).

---

71. Mawakas kasin Patay ya Tengaw.
morrow again Patay and Tengaw

71. On the next day again are the *Patay* and *Tengaw* rituals.

Cohesive ties:

1	Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.
2	*Tengaw* 'the *Tengaw* ritual': lexical repetition (E).

Other ties: //1//

1	Conjunction: sequential, internal temporal to setting paragraph (sentence 4).

---

72. Tengaw. 73. //1// Mamatay ona nan amam-a.
Tengaw do.Patay first FM old.man,PL

72. The *Tengaw* ritual.
73. The old men first perform the *Patay* ritual.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: preceding, simple, temporal, external.

Other ties: //3//

1 *mamatay* 'they perform the *Patay* ritual': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 71) (E).

2,3 *nan am-ama* 'the old men': definite article; inferrable (I).

---

73. Mamatay ona nan amam-a.
do.Patay first FM old.man,PL

73. The old men first perform the *Patay* ritual.

74. //6// Ipataycha nan fotog nan pomapatay iska
do.Patay.they FM pig POSS sacred.tree.guardian LOC
Papatayan.
sacred.tree

74. They kill for the *Patay* ritual the pig of the one who has responsibility for the sacred tree, at the sacred tree.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2,3 *ipatay(cha) nan fotog* 'they kill for the *Patay* ritual the pig': lexical reiteration of root (E); plural pronominal reference (E); definite article; inferrable (I).

4,5 *nan pomapatay* 'of the one who guards the sacred *Papatayan* tree': possessive article; lexical reiteration of root, not co-referent with preceding root.

6 *Papatayan* 'sacred tree': lexical reiteration of root (E).

---

74. Ipataycha nan fotog nan pomapatay iska Papatayan.
do.Patay.they FM pig POSS sacred.tree.guardian LOC sacred.tree

74. They kill for the *Patay* ritual the pig of the one who has responsibility for the sacred tree, at the sacred tree.

75. //3// Nan nay fotog et, maiyob-ofan isnan omili.
FM this pig CONJ contribute NFM village

75. This pig will be paid for by contributions from the village people.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2,3 *nan nay fotog* 'this pig': definite article; demonstrative pronoun; lexical repetition (E).

---

75. Nan nay fotog et, maiyob-ofan isnan omili.
FM this pig CONJ contribute NFM village

75. This pig will be paid for by contributions from the village people.

76. //3// Pakhey nan miyob-ob paymo siping.
rice FM contribute or money

76. They contribute money or rice.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external (time phrase).

2,3 *nan miyob-ob* 'what is contributed': definite article; lexical reiteration of root (E).

---

76. Pakhey nan miyob-ob paymo siping.
rice FM contribute or money

76. They contribute money or rice.

77. //0// Isnan maschem insalang nan ongang-a.
NFM night announce FM child,PL

77. At night the children announce the *Tengaw* ritual.

Other ties: //3//

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external (time phrase).

2,3 *nan ongang-a* 'the children': definite article; co-membership with *am-ama* (sentence 73), inferrable (I).

---

77. Isnan maschem insalang nan ongang-a.
NFM night announce FM child,PL

77. At night the children announce the *Tengaw* ritual.

78a. //4// Ifokhawchay
call.they,LK

78a. They shout,

78b. "Is wakas et Tengaw."
at morrow CONJ Tengaw

78b. "Tomorrow is a *Tengaw* ritual rest day."

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2,3 *ifokhaw(chay)* 'they shout': near-synonym (E); plural pronominal reference (E).

4 *(is) wakas* 'tomorrow': collocation with *maschem* (I).

Other ties: //1//

1 *Tengaw* 'the *Tengaw* ritual rest day': lexical repetition (sentence 72) (E).

78a. Ifokhawchay
call.they,LK

78a. They shout,

78b. "Is wakas et Tengaw."
at morrow CONJ Tengaw

78b. "Tomorrow is a *Tengaw* ritual rest day."

79. //5// Kawaksana, intengaw nan katakhotakho.
tomorrow.time.its hold.Tengaw FM total.population

79. The next day, the people observe the *Tengaw* ritual rest day.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external (time phrase).

2 *kawaksana* 'the next day': lexical reiteration of root (E).

3,4,5 *itengaw nan katakhotakho* 'the people hold the *Tengaw* ritual rest day': lexical reiteration of root (E); definite article; generic-specific to *cha* in sentence 78 (I).

79. Kawaksana, intengaw nan katakhotakho.
tomorrow.time.its hold.Tengaw FM total.population

79. The next day, the people observe the *Tengaw* ritual rest day.

80. //2// Mid mamokfoknag.
none go.to.field

80. Nobody goes to the fields.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2 *mamokfoknag* 'people go to the fields; nominal substitution, specific-generic to *katakhotakho* (E), substitute is inferrable.

---

80. Mid mamokfoknag.
none go.to.field

80. Nobody goes to the fields.

81. //4// Kasin mawakas mo khawis nan fatawa, mamoknagchat
again morrow if good FM world go.to.field.they,PART

nan takho.
FM person

81. On the next day, if there have been no untoward happenings, the people go to the fields.

Cohesive ties:

1,2,3,4 *mamoknagcha(t) nan takho* 'the people go to the fields': lexical repetition (E); plural pronominal (E), generic-specific to nominal substitution, specific-generic to *katakhotakho* (sentence 79); definite article; generic-specific to nominal substitution (E), specific-generic to *katakhotakho* (sentence 79) and lexical reiteration of root.

Other ties:

1 Conjunction: sequential, simple, temporal, external (time phrase).

2 *mawakas* 'the morrow': lexical reiteration of root sentence 79) (E).

81. Kasin mawakas mo khawis nan fatawa, mamoknagchat nan
again morrow if good FM world go.to.field.they,PART FM

takho.
person

81. On the next day, if there have been no untoward happenings, the people go to the fields.

82. //0// Siyana nan Tengaw ay anongos nan Innana.
this FM Tengaw LK end POSS Innana

82. That is the *Tengaw* ritual, which is the end of the *Innana* rituals.

Other ties: *//7//*

1 Conjunction: summarizing, temporal, internal referring to whole paragraph (sentences 72-81) (E).

2,3,4,5 *siya(na) nan Tengaw* 'that is the *Tengaw* ritual': emphasized pronoun demonstrative pronominal reference, referring to whole paragraph (sentences 72-81) (E); definite article; lexical reiteration of root (sentence 79) (E).

6,7 *nan Innana* 'the *Innana* rituals': definite article; generic-specific relationship to *Tengaw* (sentence 78) (E).

---

82. Siyana nan Tengaw ay anongos nan Innana.
this FM Tengaw LK end POSS Innana

82. That is the *Tengaw* ritual, which is the end of the *Innana* rituals.

83. //5// Nan mangwaniyak ay khawis nan Innana ay ekhad ay
FM say.I LK good FM Innana LK custom LK
mawanwaned, tay isnan Innana maam-among nan kaapona
inherit because NFM Innana gather FM generation
paymo nan sinpangafong.
or FM household

83. The reason that I say that the *Innana* rituals are good customs handed down, is because at the *Innana* rituals the clan or household gathers.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: summarizing, temporal, internal.

2,3 *nan Innana* 'the *Innana* rituals': definite article; lexical repetition (E).

4 *ekhad* 'custom': superordinate to *Innana* (E).

5 *Innana* 'the *Innana* rituals': lexical repetition (E).

Other ties: //11//

1 Conjunction: summarizing, temporal, internal, referring to section on rituals (sentences 7-82).

2,3,4 *nan mangwaniyak* 'what I am saying': definite article; evoked (sentence 2) (E); singular pronominal reference (sentence 2) (E).

5,6 *khawis (nan Innana ay ekhad ay) mawanwaned* 'the *Innana* rituals are good customs to be inherited': lexical repetition (sentence 2) (E); lexical repetition (sentence 2) (E).

7,8,9 *maam-among nan kaapo(na)* 'generations are gathered': lexical reiteration of root (sentence 36) (E); 36) (E).

10, 11 *nan sinpangafong* 'the household': definite article; lexical repetition (sentence 36) (E).

---

83. Nan mangwaniyak ay khawis nan Innana ay ekhad ay
FM say.I LK good FM Innana LK custom LK
mawanwaned, tay isnan Innana maam-among nan kaapona
inherit because NFM Innana gather FM generation
paymo nan sinpangafong.
or FM household

83. The reason that I say that the *Innana* rituals are good customs handed down, is because at the *Innana* rituals the clan or household gathers.

84. //12// Siya nan mangammowan nan ongang-a isnan kakyongcha,
this FM know.time FM child,PL NFM cousin,PL,their
in-acha am-acha, ikik-itcha ya isnan tap-ina
aunt,PL,their uncle,PL,their grandparent,PL,their and NFM rest,PL,its
ay inchan ken chaicha ay ib-acha ay naam-among.
LK meet NFM them LK friend,PL,their LK gather

84. That is when the children get to know their cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and other friends who have gathered with them.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.

2,3,4 *siya nan mangammowan* 'that is the time of getting to know': emphasized pronominal reference, referring to immediately preceding clause (E); definite article; inferrable (I).

5,6,7 *nan ongong-a (isnan) kakyong(cha)* 'the children (of their) cousins': definite article; specific-generic to *kaapo* and *sinpangafong* (I); specific-generic to *kaapo* and *sinpangafong* (I);

8,9,10 *in-a(cha), am-a(cha), ikik-it(cha)* '(their) aunts, uncles, grandparents': each specific-generic to *kaapo* and *sinpangafong*, and are co-members of *kaapo* and *sinpangafong* (I).

11,12 *ib-a(cha ay) naam-among* '(their) friends/companions who have gathered': specific-generic to *kaapo* (I); lexical reiteration of root (E).

---

84. Siya nan mangammowan nan ongang-a isnan kakyongcha,
this FM know.time FM child,PL NFM cousin,PL,their

in-acha am-acha, ikik-itcha ya isnan tap-ina
aunt,PL,their uncle,PL,their grandparent,PL,their and NFM rest,PL,its

ay inchan ken chaicha ay ib-acha ay naam-among.
LK meet NFM them LK friend,PL,their LK gather

84. That is when the children get to know their cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and other friends who have gathered with them.

85. //4// Siya akhes nan mangipafikas isnan anan-ak ay inchog-an
this also FM strengthen NFM offspring,PL LK manage.well

ta way iwalakcha isnan Innana.
so.that there.is contribute.they NFM Innana

85. That also is what causes children to be encouraged to manage well so that they will have a contribution for the *Innana* rituals.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: additive, complex, additive, internal.

2 *(siya) akhes* '(that) also': additive adjunct.

3 *anan-ak* 'offspring': synonym with *ongong-a* (E).

4 *(iwalak)cha* 'their (contribution)': plural pronominal reference to *ongong-a* (E).

Other ties: //6//

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal to sentence 83.

2,3,4 *siya (akhes) nan mangipafikas* 'that (also) is what causes to strengthen': singular demonstrative pronominal reference, referring to second clause of sentence 83 (#); definite article; inferrable (I).

5 *iwalak(cha)* '(their) contribution': lexical reiteration of root. (sentence 31) (E).

6 *Innana* 'the *Innana* rituals': lexical repetition (sentence 83) (E).

---

85. Siya akhes nan mangipafikas isnan anan-ak ay inchog-an
this also FM strengthen NFM offspring,PL LK manage.well

ta way iwalakcha isnan Innana
so.that there.is contribute.they NFM Innana

85. That also is what causes children to be encouraged to manage well so that they will have a contribution for the *Innana* rituals.

86. //6// Tay mo ad-i cha inchog-an et mid iwalakcha
because if not they manage.well CONJ none contribute.they

isnan Innana.
NFM Innana

86. Because if they don't manage well, they will have no contribution for the *Innana* rituals.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: dissimilar, comparison, additive, internal *(Tay)*.

2,3 *(ad-i) cha inchog-an* 'they (don't) manage well': plural pronominal reference (E); lexical repetition (E).

4,5,6 *iwalakcha (isnan) Innana* 'their contribution (in the) *Innana* rituals': lexical repetition (E); plural pronominal reference (E); lexical repetition (E).

---

86. Tay mo ad-i cha inchog-an et mid iwalakcha isnan
because if not they manage.well CONJ none contribute.they NFM
Innana.
Innana

86. Because if they don't manage well, they will have no contribution for the *Innana* rituals.

87. //3// Nan esay takho ay ad-i inwalwalak et siyachi isnan
FM one,LK person LK not contribute CONJ it.that NFM
esay tawen.
one,LK year

87. If a person does not contribute, that's okay for one year.

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: expository, apposition, additive, internal.
2 *nan (esay) takho* 'a person': definite article; inferrable (I).
3 *inwalwalak* 'contribute': lexical reiteration of root (E).

---

87. Nan esay takho ay ad-i inwalwalak et siyachi isnan esay
FM one,LK person LK not contribute CONJ it.that NFM one,LK
tawen.
year

87. If a person does not contribute, that's okay for one year.

88. //4// Nan pay katawetawen!
FM again year,PL

88. How about for other years!

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: emphatic, adversative, adversative, internal.
2,3,4 *nan (pay) katawetawen O* 'the (other) years O (ellipsis of clause)!'; definite article; lexical reiteration of root (E).

---

88. Nan pay katawetawen!
FM again year,PL

88. How about for other years!

89a. //9// Nan sikhab nan inwalakana et tellachencha
FM difficulty POSS contribute.time.his CONJ cut.off.they
tay kananchan,
because say.they,QF

89a. His difficulty at the time of contributing is this, they cut him off from participating because they say,

89b. "Ay ke lagwey ta aped kas makikikan olay mid
PART PART vegetables so.that just you,NFM eat.with even none
walakmo!"
contribution.your

89b. "Is it just vegetables that we are eating that you just join in eating, even if you have made no contribution!"

Cohesive ties:

1 Conjunction: result, specific, causal, internal.
2,3 *nan sikhab* 'the difficulty': definite article; inferrable (I).
4,5,6 *nan inwalakana* 'of his contributing': possessive article; lexical reiteration of root to ellipsis (E); singular pronominal reference to *takho* in ellipsis (E).
7 *(aped) ka(s)* 'you (just)': singular pronominal reference to *takho* in ellipsis (E).

8,9 *walakmo* 'your contribution': lexical repetition of item in ellipsis (E); singular pronominal reference to *takho* in ellipsis (E).

Other ties: //2//

1,2 *(tellachen)cha (tay kanan)cha(n)* 'they (cut off because they (say quote)': plural pronominal reference, co-referent to *kaapo* or isinpangafong (sentence 83) (E).

89a. Nan sikhab na inwalakana et tellachencha tay
FM difficulty POSS contribute.time.his CONJ cut.off.they because
kananchan.
say.they,QF

89a. His difficulty at the time of contributing is this, they cut him off from participating because they say,

89b. "Ay ke lagwey ta aped kas makikian olay mid
PART PART vegetables so.that just you,NFM eat.with even none
walakmo!"
contribution.your

89b. "It is just vegetables that we are eating that you just join in eating, even if you have made no contribution!"

90. Siyana nan tet-ewa ay on-on nan Innana.
this FM truth LK detail POSS Innana

90. Those are the true details of the *Innana* rituals.

Other ties: //1//

1 Conjunction: summarizing, temporal, internal, referring to whole text (sentences 2-89).

2,3 *siyana* 'that': emphasized pronoun demonstrative pronominal reference referring to whole text (sentences 2-89) (E).

4,5,6,7 *nan (tet-ewa ay) on-on nan Innana* 'the (true) details of the *Innana* rituals': definite article; lexical reiteration of root (sentence 1) (E); possessive article; lexical repetition (sentence 1) (E).

Appendix 3

The -phoric relations

In the following diagram of -phoric relations, X marks the position of a -phoric item in the text (represented by the horizontal line). The two -phoric relations above the line represent two kinds of textual reference within the same text. Those below the line are extratextual.

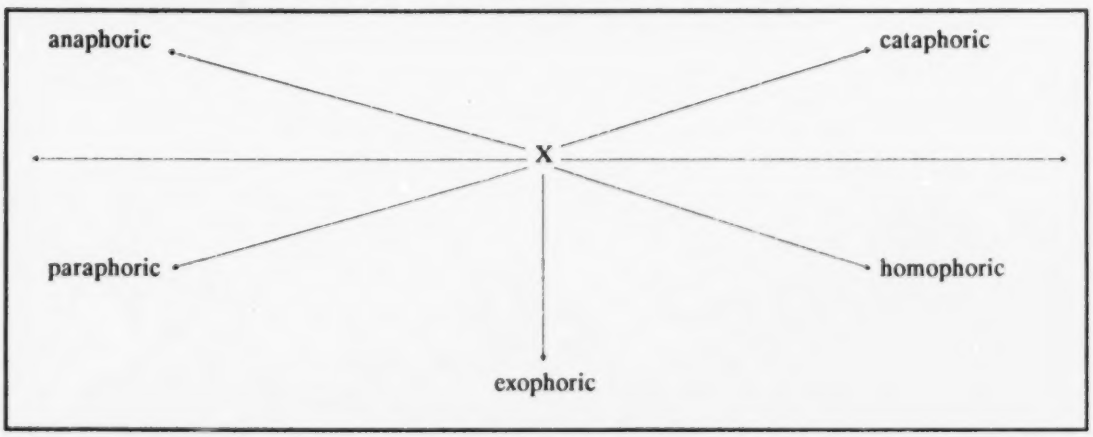

Fig. 99. The -phoric relations (adapted from Gutwinski 1976:66ff.).

Anaphoric reference is an item referring back to something else in the text.

Cataphoric reference is an item referring forward to something to come in the text.

Paraphoric reference is an item referring to something in another text, for example, to a well-known outside source.

Exophoric reference is an item referring to a nonverbal situation, for example, saying "that book" and gesturing to indicate which book.

Homophoric reference is an item referring to general knowledge—a cultural reference.

Appendix 4

On the given/new distinction

The "given/new distinction" may be diagrammed as follows:

Brand new: An unknown entity brought on by the speaker.

Brand new unanchored (BN): A new entity unachored to any known entity.

Brand new anchored (BNA): A new entity anchored by means of another noun phrase to a known entity.

Unused (U): An entity known to the hearer that is mentioned by the speaker for the first time.

Inferrable: An entity that the speaker assumes the hearer could have inferred via logical (or more commonly, plausible) reasoning from entities already mentioned, or from other inferrables.

Noncontaining inferrable (I): An entity that is inferrable from the text.

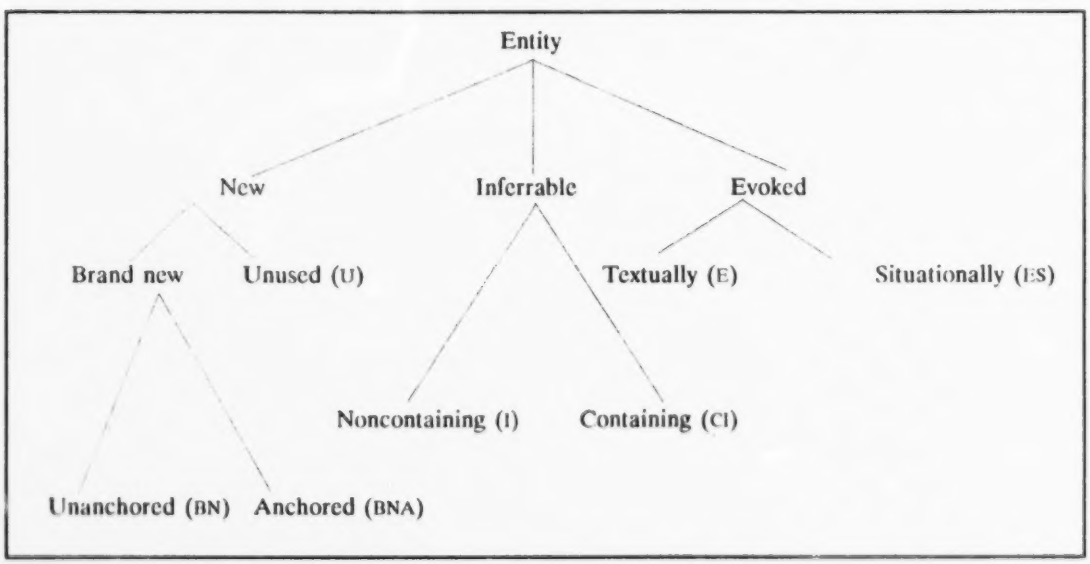

Fig. 100. The given/new distinction (based on Prince 1979).

Appendix 6

A tentative display of Central Bontoc demonstratives

	Near Speaker		Near Hearer		Neither near speaker nor hearer	
	Sg	Plural	Sg	Plural	Sg	Plural
Set 1	*nay, naay*	*naay cha, naycha*	*sana*	sana cha	*chey, cheey*	*cheycha, cheeycha*
Set 2	*tona*	chatona	*tosa*	*chatosa*	*tochi*	*chatochi*
Set 3	*na*	chana	*sa*	*chasa*	*chi*	*chachi*

Fig. 102. A tentative display of Central Bontoc demonstratives (Adapted from Porter 1979).

Appendix 7

The *Innana* rituals by Helen Fomerwey

The topic about which I am going to speak concerns the *Innana* rituals. The *Innana* rituals have been done during the dry season since long ago. During these months, the harvest is plentiful, unlike the time when sticky rice grows, when there is little to harvest. This is one practice which never disappears, which people in the village perform. It is not like the customs of the *ato* or the *olog*, which are disappearing because people these days have abused them. Like the custom of the *ato*: long ago the young men slept in the *ato*. In the same way the young ladies left home to sleep in the *olog*.

The *Innana*, it is done after the planting in the dry season. The *Innana* is done every year. Before the *Innana* begins, the old men gather to decide where they will start the *Lifon*. The meaning of *Lifon* is to chant the *ayyeng* song. When they have a place to do the *Lifon*, they kill a pig by piercing it straight to the heart. When they have begun killing, any of the clan in which the *Innana* was started can butcher a pig and then they eat. After this, which is called *Soyok*, all the people perform the *Mangmang*.

The next day is the *Apey* ritual. Each old man or woman, young lady or young man, or grandparent, goes to his respective rice field to perform the *Apey*. They take with them meat and rice wine or sugarcane wine. They go to the field and start a fire to cook with. They just warm the meat because this will be transferred and cooked in the other fields owned by the one performing the *Apey* ritual. For example, if a person has ten rice fields, the meat will also be cooked ten times, so it is only necessary to warm it because when they take it home it is cooked again.

When the ones who did the *Apey* ritual return home, they hurry to the place where those who have killed pigs have gathered, whether they are on the father's or mother's side of the family. The next day, all the men go out to fish. They go fishing for two days because the *Apey* ritual lasts four or five days.

On the fourth day the viand is meat. Those who gather contribute according to the amount of meat they have bought. On the fifth day, the women go to the market for any kind of viand other than meat. They buy just enough viand for the fifth day or for however many days they will gather.

The evening of the fifth day is when the people disperse. Each one goes to cook in their own homes because the *Innana* is over.

Containing inferrable (CI): An entity inferrable from a noun phrase contained within the noun phrase representing the CI entity.

Evoked textually (E): An entity already referred to in the text.

Evoked situationally (ES): An entity which the speaker assumes that the hearer can evoke from the situation without help.

Appendix 5

Central Bontoc pronouns

The following diagram displays all the Central Bontoc pronouns:

	Subjective		Objective or Emphasized Actor
	Nonfocussed actor or possessor	Focused actor	
Sing.			
1	*-ko, -k*	ak	sak-en
2	*-mo, -m*	*ka*	*sik-a*
3	*-na*	*siya, O*	*siya*
Plural			
1 (incl)	*-tako*	*tako*	chatako
2 (excl)	*-mi*	*kami*	chakami
2	*-yo*	*kayo*	chakayo
dual	*-ta*	*ta*	chaita
3	*-cha*	*cha*	chaicha

Fig. 101. Central Bontoc pronouns.

Lawrence Reid (1976) has identified nine cases for Central Bontoc. When a verb is used in the agentive case with a pronominal agent, the form of the pronoun is focussed actor subjective (see center column above). The initial verbs of sentences 51, 52, and 53 of the *Innana* text illustrate the agentive case. This form of the pronoun is also used for the person "in the state of having been affected by the activity" (Reid 1976) in the patient case.

If a verb is used in either the objective, instrumental, dative, concomitant, site, goal, or benefactive case, with a pronominal agent, the form of the pronoun is nonfocussed actor subjective (see left column above). This also is the form possessive pronouns take. Most of the subjective pronouns in the *Innana* text are nonfocussed actor subjective. Sentence 1 gives the first of these. Sentences 8, 10, and 14 illustrate the use of possessive pronouns.

A pronoun of the objective or emphasized actor pronoun set is used when it is a focussed direct object, a nonfocussed indirect object, or emphasized (as is, for example, the topic of a topic comment equatative clause or sentence). An example of a pronominal direct object is seen in sentence 54 of the *Innana* text. Examples of pronominal indirect objects occur in sentences 8, 31, and 84. Examples of emphasized pronouns occur in sentences 15, 19, 32, and 43.

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Anthropology

A SAMPLING OF PHILIPPINE KINSHIP PATTERNS, compiled by Richard E. Elkins, edited by Gail R. Hendrickson. 1984. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 239 pp. (c,d)

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